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From a drawing by F. W. Hulme.

LOSELEY HALL (front).

[*Frontispiece.*

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A Century of Persecution

Under Tudor and Stuart Sovereigns from Contemporary Records

BY
THE REV. ST. GEORGE KIERAN HYLAND
D.D., Ph.D.

With a Frontispiece of Loseley Hall

LONDON
KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH TRUBNER & CO., LTD.
NEW YORK: E. P. DUTTON & CO.
1920

TO MY SISTER

INTRODUCTION

The greatest question in history is that which deals with the changes of religion, as these changes have a most fundamental influence on the course of events. Hence, in the history of Europe, we are naturally inclined to divide the centuries into two immense groups: the Pagan era, and the Christian. Hence also in the Christian era the chief events separating the periods are usually of a religious character. Thus we are inclined naturally to take each period of the history of Christianity as a measure for the same period of the history of Europe. We take the first three hundred years, up to the time of Constantine; then we continue it, to the Middle Ages to about the eleventh century; thence again to the sixteenth. In each of these divisions great religious movements make the chief lines of demarcation. It is first the liberation of the Church, then the establishing and extending of the monastic system; then the unrest or chafing against religious authority.

Now, to come to the point, these pages are intended to illustrate a period of immense importance to us here in England, and it is their object to express once again the often repeated answer to the following question: How comes it that a religion which had been established in this country for over six hundred years, had taken firm root in the land, had been the prolific source of very nearly all its institutions, had inspired its art and produced all its greatest monuments, should, in the space of a few years, have been almost entirely swept away?

It is very difficult for us in these days to appreciate the power of autocracy, although we have, almost at our very doors, a startling and terrible example of its use and abuse. But I think that the inception of the religious revolution which took place in the sixteenth century was, at least here in England, made possible almost entirely by the autocratic government of the time. It is now a fairly acknowledged fact that the majority of the people were not in favour of the change of religion, and if the governing power had been in the hands of the people, no such change could have taken place. However, we must acknowledge that if the people had been truly earnest and on the alert, even a Henry VIII. could not have succeeded in achieving what he did. We need not really be surprised that, after the peaceful possession for well-nigh six centuries, the church generally should have felt no foreboding of impending disaster. We are too accustomed to meet with this sense of security in our own times to wonder that, when the Reformation was actually at the very doors, churchmen generally appeared blind to the danger. Moreover from a sense of security proceeds an inclination to take things too quietly, and in religious matters men are apt to become worldly. Thus on the very eve of the Reformation we find, only too often, ecclesiastics of very high standing indulging in the sports and pastimes of the secular princes and immersed in politics at the cost of their spirituality. Those are not the men to warn the Church of threatening danger.

It is not only Cardinal Wolsey who sacrifices principle for the sake of a mistaken loyalty; even after the terrible example of Henry's secession, the Church had not yet been completely purged of this worldly spirit.

The answer to the question, how could even a despotic sovereign root out from the land a religion which the people loved, is given in the words of our Blessed Lord: "While men were asleep an enemy came and over-sowed cockle."

In these pages we have a picture of the state of society here in England during a period of a hundred years. We see how, in the beginning, although the majority were against the change, they temporised, hoping for better days. They slumbered and slept. The better days never came during the reign of Henry VIII., but a period was past in which the cockle was too broadly sown, and when a Catholic queen ascended the throne she found that it was impossible to root out the cockle, and both wheat and the cockle were eventually allowed to grow side by side until the harvest.

After the reign of Queen Mary the seeds of dissension and the calumnies preached from Henry's pulpits bore their evil fruit, and Elizabeth found an easy task prepared for her. The short years of Catholic revival made scarcely any impression on the poisoned minds of Englishmen, while the cruel laws against heretics only served to embitter feeling the more.

Elizabeth's reign was one of the most barbarous cruelty, in comparison with which the repressive measures of Mary pale to insignificance. And this reign was succeeded by one of equal cruelty under James I. By that time autocracy in England was waning to extinction, and when Charles I. came to the throne it was no longer the hatred of the monarch that Catholics had to fear, but the violent antagonism of the Parliamentarians. The people had been disciplined in the cruel methods of their erstwhile masters, and they had become as ferocious as Henry or Elizabeth or James.

Now, the Loseley Records are of value, as we shall presently see, in illustrating many phases and periods of English history; but the chief interest of many of them centres round the story of the cataclysm consequent on this religious upheaval.

Consequently, it has not been my object to give a full account of these Manuscripts, but rather to specialise and to select those which seemed to bear on this subject.

It has seemed useful to give a picture of Catholic life in England before the Reformation, in order that the reader might the better appreciate the change which was brought about by Henry VIII. Hence I have taken the liberty of introducing him to the little village of Compton, close to which is to be seen the manor house of Loseley. The anchor's hold at Compton Parish Church provides the theme for the Chapter on the Hermit of Compton. In this village we see Catholic life as it was four hundred years ago.

The monastery of Waverley, with its beehive of prayer and work, closes this first act of our great religious drama.

In dealing with the family and manor of Loseley I have introduced subjects, such as the Overbury Plot, which, although not concerned in any way with the so-called Reformation, serve to illustrate the wickedness of Court life, and thus to throw into bolder relief the heroism of the Catholic martyrs.

The rest of the book is the story of a deadly struggle between irreligion on the one hand and Catholicism on the other; and in this story will appear how all the weight of the British Crown was hurled against the Catholic Church here in England, and how the Church withstood the violence of the impact for over a hundred years.

Before closing this introduction, it would be well to give the reader a brief account of the Loseley MSS. In 1835 Alfred John Kemp, Esq., F.S.A., copied and edited a selection of the Loseley Manuscripts. The work was published by Dr. John Murray. It was not intended to be exhaustive, and, although full of interest, it still left a quantity of material for future writers to publish and wherewith could be weaved a story of astonishing interest. In his Introduction he tells us that William Bray of Shere, in Surrey, with the permission of the then owner, Mr. Molyneux, some years perviously, collected several of the MSS. and bound them in nine folio volumes. He further pays a tribute to the daughter of Sir William More-Molyneux, Ann Cornwallis Molyneux, who became the wife of General Sir Charles Rainsford, and died in 1798. This lady had examined many of the manuscripts and indorsed them with the names and dates when she found them unsigned and undated. I cannot follow Mr. Kemp in his recommendation of this practice.

These indorsements are in several cases very wide of the mark and therefore misleading. Moreover the value of an old Manuscript is very often somewhat marred by modern notes of this kind. It is much better to leave the old document as it is.

The collection is a very fine one, numbering over 2,000 papers and parchments. It was kept in the Muniment Room, and Mr. Kemp tells us that " the key (of this room) had been lost, and its existence disregarded during an interval of two hundred years."

The documents had been preserved in "ponderous oaken coffers" until Mr. Bray was permitted to collect and bind many of them, as we have seen above. For two years or more they were entrusted to the Record Office, as it was hoped that something might be done to re-arrange them and bind the loose papers which were still scattered in promiscuous bundles. Another volume of papers was bound, all the loose documents were arranged in order of periods and placed in boxes and a complete index of the whole collection was made. It was while they were there that the present writer was able to make an exhaustive study of them and to take copies of a good number.

Many of the manuscripts are so worn by time or charred by fire as to have become almost illegible, while others are crumbling into dust so that the slightest touch or breath of air will disperse the few remaining fragments to irretrievable destruction.

The interest of the Collection is manifold: there are documents of every description, covering a period of over three hundred years, recalling the tragedies of dynasties or the great political upheavals of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Papers relating to the pretensions of Lady Jane Grey, documents recalling Wyatt's rebellion, and the grim farce of Henry VIII.'s marriage with Anne of Cleves, find mention in letters and accounts at Loseley. The Overbury Plot and Sir Walter Raleigh's ambitious and ill-fated exploits, the war with Spain, the Plague, the Revels and Masques of the sixteenth century, Jousts and Pageants, Lotteries in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, all these and a multitude of other events of interest may be illustrated by the archives preserved at Loseley. The Mores of Loseley were always official personages; and the history of the manor carries us back into the dim ages of the Norman Conquest. Thus, much literature of an official character was filed in the Manor House; but nothing remains of the documents previous to the sixteenth century. By far the majority of subsequent documents have also been lost or destroyed. Nevertheless much still remains; and for this we are sincerely thankful Of all these treasures not the least valuable are those which relate to that travesty of Reform wherein, with hypocritical effrontery, the Sovereigns and their minions made pious zeal a cloak for wholesale robbery and murder.

The present Muniment Room at Loseley is in good condition; its contents are guarded with the most praiseworthy care; and we can only trust that Mrs. More Molyneux McCowen's heirs will take example from her.

A Royal Commission on Public Records was appointed in 1910, and in their first report (1912) the Commissioners expressed their desire to encourage private owners to deposit valuable official documents in the Public Record Office, or in the British Museum, for the use of students. The depositors were to retain their ownership.

The immense advantages of this recommendation will be apparent to all students of history, as in practically every case it is much easier to journey to London than to the mansions where these archives are preserved. Moreover, as long as they remain in private hands there are a multitude of difficulties which confront the student of research and which would be completely removed if these documents were in one of our huge Government collections. Indeed, the work which has already been accomplished in the centralising of a vast mine of historical material is little realised by the general public. A visit to that large block of handsome buildings known as the Public Record Office in Chancery Lane would be profitable in this respect. From floor to roof the walls are covered with historical treasures. A rough estimate has put the number of documents at rather more than three million. These are classed into two thousand two hundred and forty seven categories, which cover a collection of five hundred thousand rolls, volumes or packages.

The documents published in this book are not all brought to light for the first time. Some of them have, of course, appeared in collections under other forms; for instance, the laws concerning the change of religion and Recusancy have been fully treated in other works. But I have thought fit to publish in full those copies that are preserves at Loseley, in order thereby to round off the picture. It will be found therefore that the chief basis of the work is taken from these laws. The Muniment Room at Loseley contains ample material for illustrating their working. I have transcribed this material in full.

The matter is chiefly composed of writings of prominent Catholics, letters of the Council, private correspondence and documents of an official character, between Lady Wolley, a lady-in-waiting at the Court of Elizabeth, and her father, Sir William More, and between Sir William and others.

I have thought it of importance to my subject to put *in extenso* what appears to me to be Cardinal Pole's Pastoral to the people of London. It brings out the state of religion and the results of the religious persecution and at the same time it suggests the only reasonable remedy for the evils accomplished by the Reformation. This remedy is none other than complete restitution. The old monasteries and churches cannot indeed be restored in their pristine beauty, but others must be built in their stead.

I have also copied a long Latin letter (or I should say what remains of it at Loseley) written by Cardinal Pole to Archbishop Cranmer. The latter is in prison, and on the even of his execution. The chief interest of this document is the account which it gives of the extraordinary deception practised by Cranmer upon Henry VIII., and the attitude of almost apology for Henry VIII. himself.

In connection with this book, the document helps like the other to complete the historical picture. The translation is given in the body of the work.

Both these long manuscripts and nearly all the letters from the Council now see the light of day for the first time.

One document in particular will be read with great interest just now, as it illustrates a state of troubles very similar to those suffered in these days by the people in Belgium. It was written by Machael de Bay, who was Chancellor of the University of Louvain. It was written in Latin, and I give the translation,

Another document which is also of peculiar interest at the present time is the Latin poem which is translated in the last chapter, and which constitutes, as it were, the denouement of the whole of our story.

For the purpose of enlightenment I have completed the tale by means of manuscripts and other documents which I have copied at the Record Office. These enable us to fill in the details of many of the lives of priests and laymen, whose names are mentioned in the lists and letters at Loseley, which are here published.

It is now my pleasant duty to thank all those who have in any way assisted me in this work. My thanks are due in the first place to Mrs. More-Molyneux for allowing me to study and copy the manuscripts, and for many other acts of kindness in connection with this book. I acknowledge my very great indebtedness to my sister, without whose patient and intelligent assistance in the capacity of scribe, this work must have been postponed indefinitely owing to a very serious affection of the eyes. I am deeply grateful to Mr. Theodore Craib, of the Public Record Office, and to many of the officials there for their most kind assistance in many ways. I am especially indebted to Mr. Herbert Hall, of the Public Record Office, for his critical examination of the work on behalf of Messrs. Kegan Paul & Co., and for his many valuable suggestions; to Mr., Mrs. and Miss Egerton Castle for reading my manuscript, and for their most useful counsels; to the Rev. Albert Hooker, of St. John's Seminary, Wonersh, for kindly reading and correcting some of the proofs; to the Rev. Bonaventure Sodar, O.S.B., of the Benedictine Abbey of Maredsous, for some information on De Bay's letter; and to the Right Rev. Abbot Marmion, O.S.B., of the same Abbey, for his help in the same matter. In fine, I thank all the many friends who have encouraged the work and helped in a multitude of ways.

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PROLOGUE

A Picture of Catholic Life in Pre-Reformation Days

CHAPTER I

THE SOLITARY

AT the foot of the chalk ridge, which runs between Guildford and Farnham, and is known as the Hog's Back, lies the little village of Compton. An air of comfort and repose breathes in every cottage and farmhouse as you pass up the white road. The overhanging foliage of beech and elm and oak is a pleasant relief as you come from the vale below. Here and there the abutting eaves bring you back in thought to the days of timbered mansions. Thick ropes of ivy coil around the massive trunks or cling to an old mullion. The rose and the phlox vie with one another over garden trellises, and a Virginian creeper will, in the fall of the year, sing scarlet melodies on the house tops.

Back from the road, and hidden from view by holly and beech, stands the old village church of St. Nicholas; here at once the mind is carried back to the dim ages of early Norman and even Saxon times. Strange walled-up entrances and arches tell of many changes which have come over this edifice throughout the centuries. Restorations without number have done their work of vandalism. A small tower surmounts the west end and is covered by a shingled spire. Within the tower are three bells. The modern Gothic porch leads to a Norman entrance, the arch of which is ornamented with zig-zag design. Zig-zag and dog tooth are also to be seen decorating the chancel arch. Over the chancel, covering the entire sanctuary, is a Chantry chapel, the only example of the kind in England. An oak screen in the form of a balustrade surmounts the chancel and divides the Chantry from the nave. This woodwork also is unique, dating back to the twelfth century. Piscinae are to be seen in the Chantry and in the sanctuary below. Here also are the triple sedilia for the celebrant, deacon and sub-deacon. Close by the sedilia is a narrow opening in the wall. On the outer end of this opening was once a tiny apartment called " anchor's hold."

In this cell is supposed to have lived a holy priest. Having been once inducted into his home of solitude by the Bp. of Winchester, and having received the austere rule from his hands, the anchorite soared higher ever in the regions of saintly contemplation. A wooden pallet was his couch and coarse bread seasoned with lettuces and herbs and moistened by water from the brook was his daily fare. A willing solitary, he had embraced the life after much prayer and training under wise guides—a long novitiate having preceded the solemn consecration.

There were many such solitaries in those days of the early sixteenth century. The Church took official cognisance of all these holy aspirants and legalised wisely in their regard. Literally, to leave all things and follow Christ has ever been regarded as the highest ideal of Christian self-sacrifice. The noblest act of man is contemplating and loving the Creator. The highest service of the soul is to sacrifice the mind and heart to God.

We can picture to ourselves the Hermit of Compton keeping his silent watches day and night. As he knelt in his narrow cell he could see suspended by silken cords over the altar the golden pyx which contained his Lord and Master. A lamp burned ever softly before this Sancta Sanctorum. To the Solitary the light that shone on the suspended pyx was the symbol of the love that burned for him within the Sacramental species.

When all the world was hushed in sleep the priest knew well that this divine Host was ever wakeful. With kindly smile and ardent love the eye of Jesus was upon him speaking volumes. How the hours sped on unheeded in that ecstasy of love! Faith opens to the mind a divine romance, a dream-land that is more real than the bubbling brook or the leafy hollows. Indeed those fields of mystic imagery are far more real than the material perceptions of the world without. For our earthly landscape is often distorted by the bad focussing of our vision, and our too narrow understanding will not infrequently make the exquisite harmonies of nature to seem in painful discord.

But once learn to take the Divine Master at His word and we open to ourselves a wonderland of delights. The joy bells were set ringing when our Saviour uttered these words: " I am the Living bread that came down from Heaven ; " and again : " This is My Body." Firmly did the Church believe then as now that at the last Supper Christ changed bread into His body and wine into His blood ; and that He gave power to His apostles to effect the same change when He said : " Do this for a commemoration of Me." This was the Divine mystery of the Holy Mass: that at the words of consecration the Lord of Lords came down upon the altar and where before were bread and wine, now was Christ the Saviour in the flesh. And so with all the Catholic Church our hermit seized the truth and as he gazed upon that pyx, his heart welled up with love and joy. What was that converse of the soul ? No man can fittingly describe, for there are prayers that are not uttered in human language—prayers that can only be compared to a mystic breathing—to a sighing and a languishing of a loving heart. It seems profanity to compare the higher converse with the throbbings of human love. Yet such is the nature of great devotion, that it is in very truth a love-making between the soul and God. And, strange to say, this wooing is begun not by man but by God. It is not the creature who is first enamoured of the Creator, but God who seems first smitten with man. " He saw that he was very good." From that time forth the King of Kings has sought in every way to win the love of the beggar-maid—His own creation. Treasure of nature and grace have been lavished upon her—pearls of great price have been offered to her. Messengers with sweet greetings have been sent to her. Invitations without number have been vouchsafed to her. " Come," He says, " come to Me all ye that labour, and I will refresh you." " I am thy reward exceeding great." Happy, thrice happy, the soul that feels drawn by that sweet call! One thing she hath asked of the Lord; that she may dwell in His house all her days.

Thus the Anchorite hath chosen the better part which shall not be taken away from him. To the worldling his life may appear hard and cheerless—that he should live apart from the merriment of men, unsoothed by wifely tenderness or uncheered by the prattle of children! That he be deprived of everything that makes living palatable! This does seem hard to those who do not understand the power of love. But to the man whose heart is aglow with heavenly fire such earthly joys are but insipid vanities. On the other hand, in the deep waters of contemplation his life flows placidly ever brimming full of the very joy of living. As the day dawns his whole soul swells to the praises of the Light of Light. How heartily does he chant those words:

" O God, my God, to Thee do I watch at break of day. For Thee my soul hath thirsted; for Thee my flesh, O how many ways. In a desert land, and where there is no way, and no water; so in the sanctuary have I come before Thee, to see Thy power and Thy Glory. For Thy mercy is better than lives: Thee my lips shall praise. Thus will I bless Thee all my life long: and in Thy name I will lift up my hands."(Ps. 62, vv. 1 to 5.)

Anon, when the sun has risen and bells ring merrily he hears the little world around him stirring. Men, women and children, all flock to church, and the building fills with worshippers. A chorus of many voices floats on the morning air. The fragrant clouds of incense envelope the oblations on the altar, and the sweet odour penetrates into every corner of the church. How solemnly the

Kyrie rises and falls in its earnest appeal for mercy ! How joyously the Gloria peals forth in its jubilance and triumph ! With what unity and fervour do they chant the Credo in *unum Deum !* Many now speak of the unknown tongue in which the liturgy was presented to the people. But they do not realise that these Latin words were sweet to all the children of the Catholic Church. They were the language of their mother and they were taught to read the sentiments which they expressed. The little children were early taught to join in these songs of praise, and to them these sounds brought home the sympathy of all their brethren in many lands.

Lustily, the rustic throats gave forth those themes which were the expressions of loyalty to Christ and to His Holy Church. The recluse heard them and his heart warmed to the world without. Those childish voices called to him for help ; and from his large sympathy would ever spring an earnest prayer that God might bless them and keep them innocent. The deep tones of the manly voices and the sweet notes of the maidens were to him the symbols of that heavenly symphony, which swelled in the hearts of all the sons of God.

From his solitude he could see through the slit in the wall, the priest raising up on high the divine Victim. All was hushed in the church beyond ; and except for the tinkling of the little bell, a deep silence had seized upon the worshippers. It was the moment of consecration. The priest, bent forward over the oblata, whispered the mystic words. Distinctly, slowly, mysteriously he enounced them : " Hoc est enim corpus meum." Then bending the knee he adored his Lord, Who on that instant had descended from His throne in Heaven into his very hands. High above his head he raised the Sacred Host ; and all the people bent low in adoration. The little bell tinkled its joyous welcome and announced the advent of the King of Kings.

After this the chalice was uncovered and again the priest, bent over the oblation, said the awful words : " Hic est enim calix sanguinis mei, novi et eterni testamenti, qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum." Once more he bends the knee while the acolyte rings the bell and all the people bow their heads in adoration ; for the God of Heaven and earth has deigned to come in their midst and to assume the outward semblance of death.

O what that event means to all the people ! How they love that sacred drama ! How it elevates their souls to things divine ! There is not one in that assembly who does not grasp its full significance. Most firmly they believe that the Saviour has come once more among them and is even now renewing the oblation which He made upon the Cross. How they welcome Him and worship Him and beg Him to accept the sacrifice of their hearts! With what holy joy they unite in that Benedictus—" Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord. Hosannah in the highest!" And presently, as the priest sings the " Paternoster " their hearts are full of filial love while they ponder on the Lord's prayer.

But now the Communion is at hand, and the voices unite in acclaiming the Lamb of God Who taketh away the sins of the World. This sacrament divine is the haven of the afflicted, the bread of Angels and the solace of sinners. One by one the faithful rise and with heads bowed and hands joined, they approach the altar rails. There they kneel and wait for the Holy One to take possession of their souls. " Lord I am not worthy that Thou shouldest enter under my roof. But say but the word and my soul shall be healed." Three times the Celebrant repeats these words while he shows them the Saving Victim. Three times with deep humility each one strikes his breast. Then is the Sacred Host placed on the tongue of each communicant. Then to his place with eyes cast down and hands joined reverently he returns. There in intimate converse he gives himself without reserve to God.

The Mass is well-nigh ended. The thanksgiving prayers are chanted. The voices are hushed once more as the communicants remain to thank their Lord and to utter many things of which their hearts are full. Then slowly they depart, and now there remains but one to watch—that one is the Hermit, the ever ardent watchman of the Sanctuary. Alone, yet never lonely—in solitude, yet ever dwelling in the company of the Beloved.

For the Anchorite of Compton the day is full with prayer and study and manual labour. Every hour has its allotted task. In his cell there is a small carpenter's bench and a few tools are near it. Here is fashioned the woodwork that shall one day beautify the church hard by. Many hours a day are spent in this labour, for it was always a maxim with the solitaries that " laborare est orare." This was the workshop where many articles of church furniture were repaired. How much of the carving which is now in the church was executed in this studio, we cannot say. For it was not usual for such holy workmen to sign their master-pieces. They worked for the love of God; and God, Who seeth in secret will repay. It was also a means of livelihood; so that they were not a burden on their neighbours. In return for their services they received the bare necessaries of subsistence.

Seven times a day the monk rose from his bench of labour to give praise to God ; and while the hammer beat or the chisel wrought in oak or elm, his heart and mind were ever singing forth the praises of the Carpenter of Nazareth.

From time to time throughout the day the villagers came to pray before their Sacramental Lord. The little children ever and anon looked in upon their loving Saviour. And when they came they heard the sound of labour or saw the bearded Solitary musing on the sward without, where he had come to take the air and gaze upon God's nature.

At eventide the church was filled for Vespers. Again the hearty singing made the walls re-echo and the incense filled the air with fragrance. The evening prayer of old and young in psalms and hymns and canticles ascended to the throne of God.

CHAPTER II

WAVERLEY ABBEY

MONASTIC LIFE BEFORE THE RESTORATION

THUS passed those days of heavenly joys. Little came to disturb the monk. He rarely wandered abroad except to gather wood in the coppices called Inwood, by permission of the Abbot of Waverley to whom they belonged, or to refresh his soul with spiritual converse in the Cistercian Abbey of Waverley, six miles away. On these occasions he set forth early, after Mass, striking the unfrequented paths that lead across fields and heather land past Cat Hill and through the wood of Crooksbury till he came to the banks of the Wey. As he descended Crooksbury, the splendid panorama of the Abbey met his wondering gaze. A huge ragstone wall, ten feet high, surrounded the whole domain of sixty acres. Grey buildings clustered snugly against the centre of the southern portion of the wall, and to the north and east was rich pasture land. A large church some 291 feet long, by 153 feet wide, surmounted by a low tower, stood on the north side of these buildings. Lancet windows illumined the interior. Its architecture was of the severe Early English type. It was cruciform, and up the entire length was a double row of sixteen pillars, alternately round and octagonal. A spacious presbytery occupied the centre of the building, and was raised some feet above the surrounding floor. It was screened on four sides by a wall. On the west this wall was seven feet thick. A door opened out through the centre of this side and broad steps led up to the presbytery. An altar stood against the screen on either side of the doorway at the top of the steps. In the thickness of the wall on either side were narrow stone steps leading to the ambonae, or pulpits, from which the Epistle and Gospel were sung on Sundays and Festivals. Within the presbytery a double row of seats ran round the choir. The screen at the east end was open-work so that a view could be obtained of the High Altar, which stood beyond.

Thus at Waverley, as in all Cistercian churches, the choir presented the appearance of a church within a church. It was designed in this way to facilitate the recitation of the divine office and to protect the monks from the chill draughty air that for ever circulated round the forest of pillars and through the spacious aisles of the edifice.

The necessity of such protection will be readily understood when we remember the long hours that the monks remained there chanting the praises of God.

Abbot Gasquet tells us that the hour of rising was two o'clock during ferial days of the week; one o'clock on Sundays and Feasts of the second rank; and twelve o'clock on Feasts of the first class. They repaired at once to the church and there remained in prayer till four o'clock. Thus in the first case the office and meditation lasted two hours, in the second, three, and in the third, four hours.

A lamp shone on the gloom of the church, and near the pulpit a candle was kept burning. The whole office, all but the Lessons, was chanted by heart.

"The labour of this night service was followed by a brief period of rest, till at five, the community again assembled in the choir for the office of Prime, which was followed by the daily Chapter.

"There faults were corrected, encouragements given, the labours of the community apportioned, and, when occasion required, matters of common interest discussed and arranged. At the stroke of six the short chapter Mass was sung, and after this study or exercise occupied the monks till eight o'clock. At that time once more the stroke of the bell called them to choir and the High Mass, to which the time till ten was allotted.

"Then came the meal of the day, except on fast days when it was not till after twelve. In the refectory strict order was preserved, and the Superior or his chief officer presided. The monks waited in turn upon each other, and, during the meal, the sacred Scriptures were read."

Meat was never allowed in the refectory. But on great Feast days meat might be served to the monks in the Abbot's apartments or in the misericord, which was a hall especially built for that purpose.

"After dinner they went in procession to the cemetery, where they stood for a certain long space of time, praying for their brethren's souls. And when they had finished their prayers, they repaired to the cloisters, where they studied until three o'clock. Each one studied the subjects which most suited his tastes and abilities. Books were to be found in abundance, ready at hand for the purpose. Close to the church stood the large cupboards full of books, with a great store of ancient manuscripts. In these were placed the ancient writings of the Doctors of the Church, and the writings of profane authors.

"Art, literature, science, philosophy, theology, every branch of learning found a place in the monastery library.

"From study the monks went at three each afternoon to chaunt their Vespers in the Church. This evening service was performed with as great solemnity as the Morning Mass. And at both the youths of the singing school, supported for the purpose in the greater monasteries, attended to join their voices with the brethren in the choral service.

"Vespers over, the monks returned once more to the cloister till the tolling of the bell announced the evening meal. This was at four. At five they repaired to the Chapter-House, and there remained in prayer and devotion till six o'clock. At this hour they chaunted Compline in the church and then a brief space was devoted to private prayer. They all retired to the dormitory till 'the bells which rung ever at midnight' proclaimed with the new day another round of prayer and labour."*

Work and prayer had been continuous in this manner for four hundred years at Waverley.

It was probably on the 24th of November in the year 1128, that the little band of thirteen monks took possession of their new foundation on the north bank of the River Wey, not far from Farnham. They hailed from the Abbey of Aumone in Normandy and were the first Cistercians to settle in England. They were indebted to William Giffard, Bishop of Winchester, for this property. It embraced the manor of Waverley, two acres of meadow in Elstead and pannage for hogs, with liberty to cut wood in the bishop's coppices of Farnham. In the Monasticon Anglicanum (1825-n. 241, from an inspeximus Charter of Ed. II. Vich Rot. Pat. 11 E II., part 2 m. 36) we read that the manor extended "from the oak at Tileford called the Kynghoc by the King's way towards Farnham as far as the Wynterburn and thence by its bank which runs from Farnham to the hill called Richardishulle (now Crooksbury Hill) and across the said hill and bridge at Waneford, to the meadow of Tyleford called Ilverthammesmead, and thence direct to the aforesaid oak."

The total length of the property from north to south was about two miles. It was a mile in width at the north end, and narrowed to a point at the south.

Although the situation of the monastery is most charming, an immense arena productive of rich pastures and corn fields encircled by thickly wooded hills which frame the peaceful solitude in violet setting, nevertheless its low-lying ground has often been a source of great calamity to the monks.

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* Henry VIII. & Engl. Mon.

The Waverley Annals tells us that in 1201 the Wey, bursting its banks, caused great damage to buildings and crops. Again, in 1233 "a terrible tempest, raging beyond measure most vehemently, destroying and overturning stone bridges, walls, and ways, rushing impetuously through the cloister and all the offices, and rising even as far as the new monastery, reached in many places the height of eight feet." (*Annales de Waverleia*, 90 b.)

Yet a flood more destructive than the others came on the 28th November, 1265. This " forced itself into all the offices of the Abbey situated in the lower places. For which cause the convent being disturbed, some passed the following night in the church, some in the treasury, and others in the guest-house, according as they were able, and several days were occupied in clearing the houses." (*Ibid.*)

These periodical floods have affected the whole valley to such an extent that the ground has silted up considerably since the advent of the monks. After seventy years the floor levels of the monastery had to be raised two feet; and again in the fifteenth century they had to be raised a further two feet, and drains were put beneath the new floors to carry off the surface water.

Since the suppression the ground has still further silted. The later floors were found some eighteen inches beneath the surface. Those of the church, however, were only just below the turf.

It is remarkable that, notwithstanding the great severity of the Cistercian rule, the Order soon took root in England and made rapid strides.

The number of novices increased beyond all expectations. Indeed, such was the progress that the Cistercians made in their Surrey valley that in 1133, they were able to send a colony to found the Abbey of Garendon, in Leicestershire; in 1135 another colony was sent to found an Abbey at Ford; in 1138, Thame was founded in the same way; Bruerne in 1147, and Combe in 1150.

All this is gleaned from the Annals, which further state that in 1187 there were in the Abbey and granges of Waverley, seventy monks and 120 lay-brothers.

Thus it became evident that a complete re-building of the Abbey on a much larger scale was imperative. The work was first begun in 1160, and progressed slowly by sections for upwards of two centuries.

For a full account of the original monastic buildings and the subsequent improvements the reader is referred to Mr. Breakspeare's work, from which most of the above information relating to Waverley has been taken.

CHAPTER III

THE SHRIVING

WHAT were the feelings of our recluse as he passed through the large outer gate to the courtyard beyond? To him this beehive of busy, earnest prayer and work was the threshold of paradise. As he passed through the massive archway, the convent bell was ringing and the hills beyond re-echoed its deep and solemn call. It was the hour of the solemn conventual Mass. White cowled figures moved silently and poured into the great church from all parts of the buildings and grounds. He followed them into the choir, and there stood at the post which was ever reserved for him next to that of the Abbot; for whenever he chose to visit the monastery, the recluse was made to feel that he was one of the brethren—and, being a visitor, the most honoured of them all. Often had he stood there and united in the song that rose in measured cadences from the whole community. In that choir a torrent of fervour seemed to sweep the soul ever onward to the ocean of eternal happiness. This church was but the symbol of that immense body of the faithful throughout the world whose faith and hope and love were like one soul pulsating through each member. Great pillars of varied shapes rose from the same floor level and supported the edifice. These pillars were the Apostles, the Fathers, the Popes who in varying language brought home to men's minds at all times the teachings of Salvation. The incense that rose in clouds from the burning censer was the symbol of the countless prayers that ascended to the throne of God. The vestments worn by the sacred ministers were figures of the wedding garment of innocence, which must adorn the soul when she approaches the Holy of Holies. Those ceremonies were a reminder that they were present at a court reception. It was the King of Grace Who was descending on the Altar. He must be honoured with due decorum. As the Chant reverberated down the aisles, Alleluias and Hosannahs were sung by angels in the mansions of Paradise. It was a veritable elixir, this glorious ritual; and day by day its solemn joyousness was a stimulus to piety.

When the mass was over the recluse followed the brethren through the cloisters. These consisted of a large closed-in passage round an open square, one side of which was formed by the church, on the east side were the Chapter House, the parlour, the treasury ; on the south side the dorter, the monks' frater or refectory, the kitchen and the lay-brothers' frater ; another courtyard with some buildings beyond it lined the west side of the cloisters.

The monks came out of the church through a side door near the south transept, and went straight from there to the refectory. This was a long and spacious hall, possibly with groined roof. As we have seen, no meat was served in this room. The food consisted of fish and vegetables. Home brewed beer was the beverage. Fruit was allowed on certain days.

Up till now no one in the monastery had broken his fast. While the repast was being served a monk read in loud and measured tones the sacred Scriptures, and then a chapter of the Cistercian Rule. At a sign from the Abbot, ere the dinner was half over, he was relieved of this task and his neighbour took the book and continued the reading. Usually some other spiritual book was also read besides the sacred Scriptures and the Rule.

After dinner they all repaired, as we have seen, to the graveyard. There, no doubt, the Hermit saw in spirit the place by his cell at Compton, where his body would some day be laid. He prayed with the rest for all the faithful departed. He meditated on the "great white throne," the summons which must some day come to him. He prepared his mind for the shriving which must purify his heart. Here, on the brink of the grave it comes home to him how easy it is to slip, even in the midst of austerities, how easy it is to be self-indulgent, to be less alert in rising than is expedient, to wander aimlessly in mind while praying, to seek vain glory in one's actions. He looks back upon his life, and can see many things that should have been done and have remained undone, many things that should not have been done and have been done. It is no sham scrutiny that he now performs. In the light of the graces received, he tests his fidelity. And when he leaves the whited sepulchres he asks himself is he to be compared to these, and must he say that inwardly there are but dry bones and the corruption of death ?

His father confessor meets him at the gate. They proceed to his cell. There the Hermit kneels and unburdens his soul of all that is human. It is no self-praise, but an open confession of frailty. Oh, the joy of that priestly absolution ! The feeling of renovation, of rejuvenation in life of the spirit ! New energy, new courage suffuse the soul when those words are uttered.

It was for this that he had chiefly come.

If he will remain for the night in the monastery ; if he will revel in the long hours of the midnight office ; if he will set out once more for his solitude when the morning lark is trilling ; it is all one to him : " One thing I have asked of the Lord, this will I seek after ; that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life." (Ps. xxvi. v. 4.)

CHAPTER IV

THE DISSOLUTION

How often did the Hermit of Compton journey to Waverley? We cannot say.

But this is certain that his visits were ever fruitful in heavenly consolations, and he brought back to his solitude fresh strength for the combat.

One day he set out after his morning Mass. It was in the end of June, in the year 1536. Nature had donned its summer apparel; bright green foliage glistened in the sun; thrushes and nightingales held concert in the glades, tomtits peeped at the white bearded priest from the crackling branches. As he reached the summit of Crooksbury he heard the ding-dong of the monastery bell. The usual signs of bustle were seen around the convent gate. Villagers were hurrying to the Abbey to attend the High Mass. They saluted him respectfully as he passed. All had been as usual; the face of nature and the face of man had been alike turned upon him with the wonted smile.

He stepped through the open gate. Strange mounted figures rode about the courtyard. Their mien was harsh and uninviting. They bore themselves as masters of the Abbey.

The Hermit proceeded to his accustomed place in choir.

The Mass was sung.

Then one by one the brethren left their church never to return.

The order had come from King Henry VIII. for all to quit.

Eight months before the unscrupulous Layton had visited this monastery and sent the Abbot to Cromwell, with the following letter:—

> " I have licensed this bringer, the Abbot of Waverley, to repair unto you for liberty to survey his husbandry, whereupon Consisteth the wealth of his monastery. The man is honest, but none of the children of Solomon. Every monk within his house is his fellow, and every servant his master. Mr. Treasurer and other more gentlemen hath put servants unto him, whom the poor man dare neither command nor displease. Yesterday, early in the morning, sitting in my chamber in examination, I could neither get bread, drink, nor fire of these knaves, till I was fretished (numbed with cold) and the abbot durst not speak to them. I call them all before me, and forgot their names,

and took from every man his keys of his office, and made new offices for my time here, perchance as stark knaves as the others. It shall be expedient for you to give him a lesson and tell the poor fool what he should do amongst the monks."

(Ab. Gasquet, Henry VIII., vol. 1, p. 268—Calendar IX., No. 452.)

Since that time the Abbot had striven in all humility to soften the heart of Cromwell. But the wells of pity had long been sealed up. A rapacious sovereign had set his eyes on all monastic property throughout the land. The tempest of greed that swept hundreds of men and women to the gallows or into exile was to spare no one. They must go or be mowed down. One last effort was made by the Abbot. On June the 9th, 1536, he wrote to Cromwell :—

" Pleaseth your mastership, I received your letters of the 7th day of the present month, and have endeavoured myself to accomplish the contents of them, and have sent your mastership the true extent, value and account of our said monastery. Beseeching your good mastership, for the love of Christ's passion, to help me in the preservation of this poor monastery, that we your beadsmen may remain in the service of God with the meanest living that any poor man may live with in this world. So to continue in the service of Almighty Jesus, and to pray for the estate of our prince and your mastership. In no vain hope I write this to your mastership, forasmuch you put me in such boldness full gently, when I was in suit to you last year at Winchester, saying, ' Repair to me for such business as ye shall have from time to time.' Therefore, instantly praying you, and my poor brethren with weeping. Yes !—desire you to help them ; in this world no creatures in more trouble, and so we remain depending upon the comfort that shall come to us from you—serving God daily at Waverley." (Both this and the former were taken from Ab. Gasquet's Henry VIII., and the Eng. Mon.)

But pleadings were of no avail at a time when covetousness was the ruling motive. The work of four hundred years was to be sacrificed. The brethren were ordered to quit and seek a living or shelter where and how they may.

It is probable that they left these shores altogether and joined themselves to their brethren in Normandy.

What became of the poor who were harboured in the poor folks' guest-house, of the sick and dying that had hoped to end their days under the shadow of the great church, history does not say.

After a careful search for any information on the subject, it had to be abandoned as fruitless. That the neighbours wept on the departure of these men of prayer and work there can be little doubt. Of course, in the case of Waverley, as in that of all other Abbeys and Priories no one realised that the convent bell would be silent, never to be heard again, and that, with the exception of five short years in Mary's reign, the destruction of religion was to proceed with ever-increasing vehemence.

On the 20th July, 1536, the Abbey was granted by Henry VIII. to Sir William Fitz William, K.G., treasurer of the King's household, afterwards created Earl of Southampton. He settled the estate upon himself and Lady Mabel, his wife, with remainder to his half-brother, Sir Anthony Brown, and died without issue on the 14th October, 1543. This Sir Anthony was created Viscount Montague, and died in 1592. (*Manning and Bray, III.*, 152; *Brayley V. part* 1., 287.) It was sold in the beginning of the seventeenth century to the Coldham family. In their time "the monastic remains underwent great dilapidations." The Coldham family sold it in the eighteenth century to William Aislabie, brother of John Aislabie, who owned Fountains Abbey, in Yorkshire. It was again sold in 1725 to a Mr. Child of Guildford. Child's successor Charles, sold it again in 1747 to Thomas Orby Hunter, Esq. His son, Charles, sold it to the trustees of Sir Robert Rich. Brayley says that the Abbey was "yet more mutilated when in the possession of Sir Robert Rich, who chiefly employed the materials in annexing wings to Waverley House." It was sold by the heirs of Sir Robert in 1796 to John Thomson, Esq. This gentleman sold it to George Thomas Nicholson, Esq.

Throughout this long period the transformation which had taken place at Waverley was chilling and harrowing in the extreme. The cloisters, where white figures had been seen to move silently in contemplation, soon were desecrated by the frivolous gossip of irreverent worldlings; the frater, where the meagre fare had been served while the mind of the brethren fed on the Word of God, was now become the banqueting hall of revellers. The abomination of desolation had seized upon the Holy of Holies. Soon, very soon the majestic walls of the Church began to crumble. Greed was clawing at the massive masonry. A house was building at Loseley. Materials were needed. St. Mary's Church had plenty. Sir William More and the Earl of Southampton were friends. Sir William sent his waggons to Waverley and the generous owner sent them back to Loseley full of stone from St. Mary's.

Did the neighbourhood benefit by the change of proprietors? Abbot Gasquet tells us "that Henry VIII. enacted that on the site of every dissolved religious house the new possessor should be bound under heavy penalties to provide hospitality, and service for the poor, such as had been given them previously by the religious foundations. By this provision not only is the patrimony of the poor recognised as being merged in the property of the monasteries, but a testimony is afforded as to the way the religious had hitherto discharged their obligations in this respect. The repudiation of these rights of the needy, by those who became possessed of the confiscated property, is one of the greatest blots on our national history." (*Ibid*. Vol. I., p. 311.)

Several writers on Surrey, who cannot be suspected of partiality towards the old order, speak in terms of great praise of the work and spirit that breathed in the lives of these monks. Mr. Eric Parker, in his *Highways and Byways in Surrey*, p. 48, says of Waverley: " its brethren were simple, kindly men with few wants and little money, who yet were generous hosts and the most skilful farmers of their day."

The expulsion of the monks spelt misery to many who had hitherto sought employment on the monastery domains or received relief at the Abbey gate. It is not necessary to enter here into the wide question of how the successors of the monks spent their spoils. Nor is it necessary to show that poverty rapidly increased and that there was no attempt to remedy the growing social evils for upwards of two centuries.

What became of our recluse of Compton after the monks had been disbanded? Did he return to his cell by St. Nicholas; or did he accompany the monks to Normandy? So far no trace has been found which might enlighten us on the subject. But a great change had already come over the whole community. Pope Clement had refused the petition for a royal divorce; Henry VIII. had replied by rejecting the papal authority and constituting himself supreme ruler of the Church of England; Cranmer had been raised to the see of Canterbury; "the marriage of Catherine had been formally declared invalid by the new Primate at Dunstable; the oath of supremacy had been tendered to the lords Spiritual and Temporal; those who refused it had, like Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas Moore, been beheaded, or like the Carthusians and Benedictines, suffered appalling tortures and finally death on the gallows.

PEDIGREE OF THE MORES OF LOSELEY.

This Pedigree has been deduced from that given in Manning and Bray's *History of Surrey*, which is stated to have been taken from the Visitation Book of 1623, Harl: MSS. No. 1046; fol. 108; Stemmer, penes T. M. Molyneux, Arm. Monumental Inscriptions in the Church of St. Nicholas, Guildford; and the Register of that Parish.

John More.

Thomas More, of Norton, Co. Derby = Isabel.

John More = Isabel.

Robert More.

Robert More, = Mary. of London

Ann. = —Fisher, of London.

Margaret = — Stubbs.

Joan = John Hull, of Hamildon.

Sir Christopher More, of Loseley, knt. Ob. Aug. 16, 1549. = 1st, Margaret, dau. and heir of Walter Midge, 2nd, Constance, dau. of Rich. Sackvill, and wid. of William Heneage.

Alice = 1st — Clarke Ob. 1545 2nd Sir John More, K.B.

Ann. = John Lucas, of Halden, Co. Kent.

Richard, Ob. sine prole.

Christopher, Ob. sine prole.

John, Ob. sine prole.

Christopher, Ob. sine prole.

Sir William More of Loseley knt., Ob. July 20, 1600. = 1st, Margaret, dau. and co-heir of Ralph Daniel. 2nd Mabel, dau. of Marchion Dingley.

Elizabeth.

Cecily.

Margaret = Thos. Fynes, brother of Lord Dacre.

Elizabeth = John Wintershull.

Ann = John Scarlett.

Bridget = — Compton, of Guernsey.

Eleanor = William Heneage, of Milton.

Sir George More, of Loseley, knt., Chancellor of the Order of the Garter. Ob. Oct. 16, 1632. = 1st, Ann, dau. and co-heir of Sir Andrian Poynings, wid. of — Knight, esq. 2nd, Constance, dau. and co-heir of John Michell, esq.

Elisabeth = 1st, Richard Polsted, of Albury. Ob. sine prole. 2nd, Sir John Wolley, of Pirford. 3rd, Sir Thos. Egerton, Cr. Baron Ellesmere, Ld. Chancellor.

Ann = Sir George Manwaring, of Ightfield, Co. Salop.

Sir Robert More, knt., Ob. Feb. 2, 1625-6. = Frances, dau. of Sampson Lennard, by Margaret, Baroness Dacre.

William, nat. May 24, 1585.

George, nat. Dec. 12, 1587.

John, nat. May 17, 1589.

Mary = Sir Nicholas Throckmorton Carew, Jan. 17, 1597-8.

Margaret = Thos. Grimes.

Ann = John Donne, D.D., Ob. Aug. 15, 1617.

Elisabeth = Sir John Mille, bart.

Frances = Sir John Oglander.

Margaret, Ob. 1693.

Elizabeth, Ob. Inf.

Ann = James Gresham.

Frances, Ob. 1695.

Fienes More.

Sir Poynings More, bart., Ob. April 11, 1649. = Elisabeth, dau. of Sir Wm. Fytche.

George, Ob. sine prole.

Henry More, Ob Inf.

Sir William More, bart., Ob. July 24, 1684; sine prole. = Mary, dau. and heir of Sir Walter Hindley, bart. of ——, Co. Sussex.

Robert More, Ob. 1689, sine prole.

William More, nat., July 1, 1611, Ob. sine prole.

Nicholas More, clk., Ob. Dec. 22, 1684. = Susan, dau. of Rich. Saunders Ob. Aug. 1687.

Major Robert More. = — dau. of — Pound —, Co. Hants.

Thomas More, Ob. Inf. Dec. 10, 1624.

Robert More, Ob. May 1689, sine prole.

Elizabeth, Ob. 1691-2, sine prole.

Margaret. Ob. Sept. 14, 1704. Æt. 44. = Sir Thomas Molyneux, knt., Ob. Dec. 13, 1719. Æt. 57.

Frances. Ob. 1680. Bur. with her 1st child at Kingston Bagpuze. = John Latton, of Esher.

Sir William More Molyneux, b. Feb. 19, 1760. = Cassandra, dau. of Thos. Cornwallis, and co-heir of her br. Francis C.

Nathaniel M. Molyneux Ob. Juv.

Margaret = Samuel Robertson.

Elizabeth. Ob. Cœl. 1716.

Ann, = William Lee. Ob. sine prole.

Susan, = Richard Wyatt. Ob. 1774, sine prole.

James More Molyneux. Ob. June 24, 1759: sine prole. His next brother became his heir. = Margaret, dau. and heir of Robert Sherard.

Thos. W. Molyneux, Ob. Oct. 3, 1776.

George M. Molyneux, Ob. Inf., Feb. 1740-1.

Cassandra, Ob. Cœl. June 29, 1777.

Emma, = Wm. Green. Ob. Jan. 26, 1767.

Jane Ob. Cœl. Sept. 10, 1802.

Elizabeth, Ob. Inf., Nov. 1730.

Susan Coroline. Ob. Cœl, Aug. 25, 1778.

Lettice, Ob. Cœl, Jan. 16, 1755.

Margaret, Ob. Inf., Feb. 1736-7.

Ann Cornwallis = Lieut.-Gen. Chas. Rainsford, Ob. Jan. 1798. Feb. 16, 1789.

* Brayley's *History of Surrey*, Vol. I., pp. 416, 417 and 418.

PART I

Loseley and its Earlier Owners

CHAPTER I

LOSELEY

AT the same time as the monastic walls were being despoiled of their magnificence, homes of luxury were everywhere springing into being; and the lofty tapering arch was being brought low and multiplied to suit the growing domestic need for comfort.

The new masters of the Abbey buildings, insensibly steeped in the mysticism of the hallowed cloisters, drew their inspiration therefrom when they drafted the plans for their manor houses. Indeed the first manors of these knights of fortune were for the most part adaptations of the monastic buildings themselves. But these had been built for very different tenants; and there was need of greater shelter and warmth for those whose hearts did not expand with fervour in the realms of prayer and sacrifice. Thus were the manor houses early re-built and the old one demolished. But in the transition a multitude of the familiar Gothic features were retained.

Massive walls, reminiscent of the stronghold of the faith, were lightened in their general aspect by the great mullioned windows filled with leaded glass, and crossed by horizontal transoms, by the arcades and the dormers and the turrets which were multiplied without any apparent extravagance. The pointed arch that framed the beautiful tracery in the large Gothic windows disappeared in this domestic renaissance and gave way to the square frame. Not infrequently the stained glass window gave testimony to the lingering love of religious mystery with which the sky beyond was veiled. In these coloured panes, however, were no longer seen the emblems of Catholicism, but the emblazonment of earthly pomp and princely prowess. Large halls richly decorated, the walls covered with oak panelling and hung with the portraits of ancestors, large ornamented fireplaces, moulded ceilings, gave a sense of rest. Singers' galleries and withdrawing rooms were also of this period, as also the great gallery wherein the treasured pictures were hung.

Although the Gothic features seem somewhat to predominate in the Elizabethan style of architecture, nevertheless there appears a determined return to the classic. Hence the classic orders of columns are much used, but often with a total disregard of conventionality.

It is impossible to say what was the style of the original house at Waverley. The present building is entirely classic and comparatively modern. But while Waverley was undergoing rapid transformation, Sir William More was building his new house at Loseley. That he obtained materials from Waverley for his purpose is quite certain, as appears from his private accounts, according to which some ninety-two loads were sent from the Abbey. The building was begun in 1561 and took eight years to complete. There is no doubt, also, that sand stone from the walls of Guildford Castle was sold to Sir William More, in 1575, as the following Memorandum proves :—

> " Memorandum that I George Austen of Guldeford in the Countie of Surrey by the appoyntement of Thomas Taylor esquire the Queens majesty's surveyor generall within the Countie of Surrie have caused certen sandye stone to the nomber of twentie and two loads to be taken out of the old wales of the Castle of Guldeford aforesaide, which saide XXII loads of Sandy stones are valued and praysed by Henry Hun and Philipp Barefote at XIId. every loade, in the place aforesaid which in the whole amounteth to the some of XXIIs. And the same XXII loads of stone ar solde and delyvered, to Mr. William More of Loseley in the said Countie esquire by the appointment aforesaide, XXIth daie of this instant moneth of Maye who is to answer to the quenes majesty's use the saide some of XXIIs. for the said stone. In witnes whereof aswell the said George Austen as the said Henry and Philipp hereunto have sett there hands, given the XXXth daie of Maye in the seventeneth yere of the raigne of or Soveraigne Ladie Elizabeth by the grace of God Quene of England France and Ireland defender of the Faith etc.
>
> Per me GEORGIUM AUSTEN
> signum ded HENRICI HUNT
> HENRIE PHYLIPP dardset

(*Los. MSS., Bundle*, 1575.)

Extensive alterations were evidently in progress at Loseley. But the main buildings had long been erected ; and, although there is no mention of such depredations in Aubray, Manning and Bray or Bailey, it is evident that Sir William helped to pull down the Cistercian Abbey near Farnham, as he did later the historic fort in Guildford.

The manor house of Loseley stands about half way between Guildford and Godalming in a retired spot half a mile from the main road. It is a splendid specimen of early Elizabethan architecture.

It was a beautiful day in May when I called at Loseley. My path was up a carriage drive which, after leading to the top of a knoll past ploughed fields, brought me by a gigantic yew hedge into a long straight road overshadowed by great trees, of which some are riven in twain by the centuries that have come and gone. The sun shone golden on the luxuriant foliage overhead. From this pleasant alley I was suddenly brought out in full view of the house.

It is a large grey building partly covered in ivy. Immense mullioned windows carry the eye from ground to roof. It is a series of parallel lines which are pendent from the eaves and are repeated again in the high roof. Yet these lines are sufficiently broken by transoms and grouped together to prevent what might easily give the impression of a huge cage. The lines are the mullions and they encase the windows, behind which is mystery. The impression produced by the whole composition is one of the lightness combined with great strength, of comfort and sternness. Those long narrow openings, which seem to be huge gaping eyes, are dark and impenetrable. It is the seeing and the unseen. I was ushered into the great hall. Oak panelling covers the walls and here and there on the panels are painted portcullises, arches, the likeness of Katherine Parr, the letters H.R. and K.P. and " Dieu et mon droit." The panels come from the Nonesuch Palace. Two life-size portraits by Myttens hang on the south wall, one of James I., the other of his queen, Anne of Denmark. These date from 1603, when the king and queen visited Loseley. Opposite these on the north wall are two small portraits by Holbein of Edward VI. and Mary Queen of Scots. Inscribed on the former is the information that this portrait was painted on the occasion of Edward's coronation in the tenth year of his age. It is a pathetic figure of an attractive child. Mary Queen of Scots is a beautiful face looking out upon the world with bright open eyes.

Over the mantlepiece are hung various weapons, great broad swords and lances, a three-cornered hat rests on the shelf and on either side a coat of mail with its helmet.

On the west wall is a very large painting by Somers in which we see Sir William More Molyneux together with Cassandra, his wife, and all the children.

Opposite this, on the other side of the Hall is the singers' gallery. It presents the appearance of a narrow balcony, extending the whole length of the east wall. The front of the balcony is oak carved in bold relief of leaf design. This was placed here in comparatively modern times and was taken from a church in Oxfordshire where it had served as a Communion rail. While I stood admiring this fine piece of workmanship my hostess came in. Mrs. More-Molyneux is the heiress of Loseley and a descendant of a most distinguished line of ancestors. She at once set out upon a most detailed and interesting journey through the maze of her charming apartments, and I had only to follow her with the eyes of one who discovers a new world.

Having pointed out the objects of interest in the great Hall, and made me mark the monogram K.P. of Katherine Parr in a panel close to the west door, she led me into a small sitting room, delightfully cosy. Dark oak covered the walls up to the ceiling. The large window gave a lovely view across lawns and fields, firs and oaks and elms or great antiquity shading the walks on every side.

Mine hostess took me into the withdrawing-room. This was a large and comfortable apartment with furniture of the Georgian period.

Brayley gives the following description of this room :—

> " It is a splendid example of the decorative style of the early part of Queen Elizabeth's reign. It exhibits an enriched cornice, on which is the Rebus of the More family—a Mulberry tree, intersecting the motto ' Morus tarde Moriens—Morum cito Moriturum.' "

(Mr. Kemp, in his " Loseley Manuscripts " explains this motto in this way : " The Family stock, like the Mulberry tree, should be of long endurance, but its individual descendants, like the fruit should by the common lot of mortality, be subject to speedy decay.")

> " The wainscotting is panelled, and the ceiling ornamented with pendent drops and moulded Gothic tracery—within the involved forms of which, among other insignia the figure of the cockatrice is frequently repeated. The Cockatrice was a bearing of the Mudge family, and was, doubtless, thus displayed by Sir William More in affectionate remembrance of Margaret, his mother, who was the daughter and heir of Walter Mudge, Esq."

This is one of the numerous instances of aggressive and pugnacious times when knights and barons were ever grappling with one another. The cockatrice was a fabulous monster, half serpent, half cock said to be hatched from a cock's egg, and deadly to those who felt its breath or met the glance of its eye. In Shakespeare's "Richard III.," the Duchess of Gloster says :—

> " A cockatrice hast thou hatch'd to the world,
> Whose unavoidable eye is murderous ! "

" The chimney piece, which is of an elaborate design, and in excellent preservation, may be described as consisting of an upper and lower division ; the latter being of the Corinthian order, composed of two columns and a bracket on each side, sustaining a very florid entablature. Below each bracket is a caryatide figure ; and the whole is based on high pedestals, adorned with festoons and other sculptures. The upper division, or mantel, is bounded at the sides by brackets and caryatides of a grotesque character, and in different attitudes, supporting a fascia and cornice, variously enriched. In the intermediate panelling are displayed the heraldic bearings of the Mores, etc., in six compartments."

CHAPTER II

SIR WILLIAM MORE

ON one side of the mantelpiece of the withdrawing-room is a portrait by Jansen of Sir William More. The legend on the painting tells us that it represents Sir William in the last year but one of his life. He is an old man of eighty with mild expression, fresh complexion, small bright eyes, lofty brow, long white beard, nose slightly arched, but regular and sharp lined. He was altogether a handsome old man.

Brayley, in his *History of Surrey* tells us that Sir William More was the eldest surviving son and successor of Christopher (by his first wife, Margaret, daughter and heir of Walter Mudge, esquire), was born on January the 30th, 1519-20. He sat in Parliament, as member for the borough of Guildford, several times in the reigns of Mary and Elizabeth ; and in that of the latter he was chosen knight of the shire for Surrey : he also twice held the office of Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex ; and he was appointed Vice-Admiral of the latter county—the duty of which office was to enforce the rights of the Admiralty on the shores of the district entrusted to his jurisdiction. On the 14th of May, 1576, the honour of knighthood was conferred on him by Dudley, Earl of Leicester, in the Earl of Lincoln's garden at Pirford, in the presence of Queen Elizabeth, who, on giving him her hand to kiss, told him that he " well-deserved the honour which she had then conferred upon him." He died on the 20th of July, 1600, in the eighty-first year of his age ; and was buried in the family vault at St. Nicholas Church, Guildford. This gentleman was highly esteemed by Queen Elizabeth, who visited him at Loseley in the years 1577, 1583, and 1591 ; and probably, also, on one or two other occasions. (Brayley, *History of Surrey*, Vol. I.)

The family of Mores dates back to the dim ages of the Norman Conquest : Brayley gives us the following account :

> " Roger de Montgomery was one of the Norman barons who engaged in the expedition to England under Duke William, and he commanded the central division of the Norman army at the battle of Hastings. In reward of his services he obtained his land and titles, including, among the former three manors in the County of Surrey, besides that of Loseley. After the death of William the First he joined the party in favour of his eldest son, Robert Curthose ; but at length quitted it, and became the

> firm adherent of William Rufus. He founded several religious houses; one of which was the Priory of Shrewsbury, where he spent the latter part of his life and died July 27th, 1094.
>
> Sibilla, the daughter of Earl Roger, who became heiress to his estates, married Robert Fitz-Hamon, who, being Lord of the Honor of Gloucester, united it to the manor of Loseley, which was afterwards held as an appurtenance to that Honor.
>
> In the reign of Henry the Third, Hugh de Deol, or Dol, held this manor of Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester, as of the Honor of Gloucester, by the military service of half a knight's fee; but in the succeeding reigns of Edward the First, Second and Third, it was held of the same Honor by the service of a whole knight's fee, and valued at twenty pounds per annum. On the decease of Robert de Dol, grandson of Hugh, in the year 1356 (30th of Edward the Third), this manor devolved on his two daughters, co-heiresses, Joan and Margaret; the former of whom had married John de Bures, and the latter John de Morton. From their descendants the respective moieties of the Bures and Mortons were, in process of time, conveyed to the families of Westbrook and Cress; and in 1515 (7th of Henry the Eighth), John Westbrook, esq. of Godalming, disposed of his moiety to Christopher More, Esq., whose family had been previously settled in Derbyshire. Cross's share had been sold in June, 1395, to William Sidney, Esq., of Stoke D'Abernon; and of William, his great grandson, it was eventually purchased, in 1532, by the above Christopher, who thus became possessed of the entire manor. In the year 1545, he likewise bought the manor of Westbury in Compton parish; and about the same time also the advowson of that rectory.
>
> On becoming possessed of the whole of the Loseley estate, Mr. More obtained a grant of free warren, with a license to make a park here, as appears from a writ of privy-seal of Henry the Eighth, preserved among the muniments at Loseley. It is dated Chelseheth, 24th December, in the 24th of his reign, A.D. 1533, and gives license to Christopher More, characterised as one of the clerks of the Echequer, to impark, and surround with hedges, ditches, and pales, two hundred acres of land at his manor of Loseley, free warren in the same, &c. This Christopher More was Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex, both in the 24th and 31st years of Henry the Eighth; on the first of which occasions he received the honour of knighthood. In the 37th of Henry's reign he held the office of King's Remembrancer of the Exchequer, which he retained until his decease in August, 1549."
>
> Brayley, *History of Surrey*, Vol. I., pp. 410 and 411.

Some letters which I have copied from amongst the Loseley manuscripts throw much light on the relations between the Queen and Sir William More. They take us back to those frivolous times when Court life was a dangerous whirlpool of flirtation and intrigue, which, only too often, ended in tragedy. Lords and ladies pranced around Her Majesty with light but faltering gait.

In the first letter which I will ask the reader to peruse, we see that Lady Wolley, who was the daughter of Sir William More, is at Court in the capacity of Lady in Waiting to Queen Elizabeth. She is new to the honour, is flushed with the flattering attentions of her royal mistress, and is pleased with the friendly professions of my Lord Admiral. But notwithstanding her rosy prospects " she means to walk warily." She evidently realises that the favours of Court life are like many a spring day which in the morning is bathed in brilliant sunhsine and in the evening is dissolved in rain.

> " Sir, yesterday I sent Nicke to London to see how you did, thinking you had taken physic. I am very glad to hear you are so well after your long and weary journey. I pray you shorten it at your next going to London and lie all night at Pirford. Since my coming to the court, I have had many gracious words of her Majesty, and many times had me welcome with all her heart, ever since I have waited.
>
> " Yesterday she wore the gown you gave her, and took thereby occasion to speak of you, saying, ere long I should find a Mother-in-law, which was herself but she was afraid of the two widows that are there with you, that they would be angry with her for it, and that she would give ten thousand pounds you were twenty years younger, for that she hath but few such servants as you are, with many gracious speeches both of yourself and my brother, which is too long to write, and therefore will leave to tell you when we meet. My Lord Admiral came to me, and had me welcome with all his heart, and told me he had seen you and my brother, willing me to command him in any friendship he can show unto me. I thought good at this time to use no further speeches unto him. I went to my Lord of Buckhurst and gave him humble thanks for his kind usage of you. He did assure me he would be a most faithful friend both unto you and to myself saying, if he could be assured of my friendship, he had rather have it than any other Lady that serves in the place, which I did assure him of.
>
> " My brother is now very much bound and beholding to my Lord Chamberlain and my Lady Warwick. I will tell you wherefore when I see you next. Thus hitherto I have had a good beginning at court, and have no doubt but to continue it, if friends be constant. If they fail it shall be through no deserts of mine, for I will live very warily amongst them.
>
> " The Queen, as she saith, will dine with my Lady Edmunds on Tuesday next and return again at night, which I can hardly believe : if she do, I mean to wait upon her.
>
> " My Lord Treasurer lies here very ill of the gout, and cannot stir hand nor foot nor feed himself, the gout is so in his hands. I think he will not be able to go to London this week.
>
> " My Lord Chamberlain advises me to send him few partridges which I know not where to get any. It might please you to send

me some if never so few. About me there is not any to be gotten. I minced one myself and sent him this last night by the advice of my Lord Chamberlain, which he made his supper of.

" So humbly praying to commend me to my good brother and the rest of my friends there, with remembrance of my duty, I commit us all to God's holy protection.

" From the Court, this Sunday morning,
" Your loving and obedient daughter
" ELIZABETH WOLLEY."

" I have staid the bringer because of sending you word of the Lord's coming, if it will please you to send a man upon Thursday next to London to receive the stuff and deliver it to him that shalt keep my house, I will then dispatch mother Canary if yourself come not before. I will make bold to send to you for that money it pleaseth you to lend me when I do hear of Mr. Browne.

" To the Right Worshipful, my very loving father, Sir William More, Knight at Loseley."

(*Los. MSS. Vol. IX., No.* 115.)

There can be no question that Queen Elizabeth felt a genuine regard for Sir William More. She had many times sent him affectionate messages, had spoken of him in terms of high praise, had invited him frequently to Court, had manifested vexation at his departure and in a hundred other ways had shown that he was quite in the front rank of all her favourites.

The Queen looked upon Sir William as one of the most trustworthy of her servants. Indeed, she had every reason to do so : for the mass of correspondence and of official documents of every kind which have been preserved at Loseley show how indefatigable he was in his official capacity.

The following letter to Lady Wolley from a gentleman of the Court was written six years before the death of More.

Vol. IX., No. 116.

" Hon. and my very special good Lady, Mistress, my right humble duty remembered etc. According to your La. commandment the next day after your departure, I recommended your duty and service to the R. Hon. the Countess of Warwick, who at that instant willed me to certify you what a careful respect her Majesty held for the recovery of that good Knight your father both for your La. comfort as also for the good service her highness had received at his hands. Since which time by your footman I seized a letter directed to Mistress Ratcliffe who, imparting the effect thereof to the Queen, her Majesty commanded to see the letter, taking great pains in reading your ragged hand saying you had prevented her for that she was determined to have sent Mr. William Howard to have visited your father, but seeing you were beforehand with her she straightly chargeth that you come not from him until he be perfectly recovered, willing and commanding to see him well cherished, for that it would greatly grieve her to lose so good a servant, saying that his too much care and pains, taken in her service, had thrown him into this sickness in regard whereof her pleasure is that you come not from him, but that from time to time you make her acquainted in what state your father standeth. Likewise she is well pleased with my master his being there only that he may comfort your Lord. serving lest too much grief should cast you into some sickness, which by his company will be prevented. Your Ho. friends, the L. Warwick, the Lady Cumberland and Lady Veare have them recommended to you La., wishing you speedy return. Concerning Doctor Chardone, I have in all things followed your direction to Mr. Greyell who hath had conference with him and is sufficiently satisfied of all things that objected against him. I have been very earnest in the soliciting of him for the effecting of the Doctor's good. He promised much ; but as yet there is no fruits although he saith that you have more interest in him than any Lady in court save one.

" I will not omit one minute in following him so as if things concur not to your La. liking, I may be freed from all blame and no negligence imputed to me. I have received twenty pounds for master Stone which I have paid to Master Bryghame and taken in your bond.

" The hundred pounds is to be repaid one Sunday next without fail, at which time I hope in God your La. will be here in Court, leaving Sir William More strong and in good health. The which I pray for Christ Jesus His sake, beseeching Him to continue you long life with happy days and increase of all good perfections. From the Court this Tuesday 1594.

" Your Ladyship's most humble servant

THO. EDWARDS.

" Good Madam, think upon me your poor servant, that I may wait upon your La. all the days of my life."

A year had gone since the above epistle had been written. More had recovered somewhat from his sickness and had spent some time at Court. He had returned once more to Loseley. It was the partridge season. The sound of sport was in the woods and heatherlands.

The Queen grieved slightly over the premature departure of her guest. But her good Cecyl was still with her. He could comfort her loneliness, and together they rode in the sunbeams, the bracken and the wild thyme crackling underfoot. As the summer green was everywhere merging into orange and gold their thoughts were of poetry, and they conversed of many things.

Elizabeth spoke of Sir William, of his courtly manners, of his good services, of his failing health. Sir Robert assented to all these queenly praises—though his heart was sore with bitter envy.

Soon the sport grew hot and the hawks rose high. Many covers were beaten. The quarry swept forward with a whoop and a frightened cry. Three birds were brought low by Cecyl's hawk. It was a moment of triumph for the Queen's Secretary. With a graceful obeisance, he begged that his royal mistress would graciously accept them. This she promptly did, and handed them forthwith to Lady Wolley, for her father Sir William More. Sir Robert, no doubt, bit his lips, but disguised his feelings from her Majesty. His meanness, however, immediately conceived in this an opportunity to injure his rival.

Probably when the Queen was out of hearing he turned to Lady Wolley and demanded the partridges of her. His object seemed to be not only to deprive Sir William of the royal gift, but further to make him unwittingly offend his sovereign by failing to acknowledge her kind thought. Lady Wolley was loth to give them up, but knowing too well the unscrupulous nature of this Court minion she dared not thwart him. But as soon as the sport was over she sent a messenger, post haste, with the following letter :—

Vol. IX., No. 122.

" Sir, the day you went from the court, at night her Maj. did enquire of me for you, and was sorry when I told her that you were gone home to your own house, that you had so troublesome a journey, which if her Maj. had known you would have taken that night, she would have had a lodging provided for you, being likewise sorry that she had no longer time to entertain you. Yesternight in the evening, her Majesty went abroad ahawking, and Sir Robert Cecyl's hawk killed three partridges which he presented the Queen with, and myself being in place, her Maj. gave them me, with express charge, that I should send them to you this day again your dinner, desiring you to eat them for her sake. Since Sir Robert Cecyl begged them of me, which I could not

> deny him of, I have sent his messenger of purpose to you, praying you to take knowledge of the receipt of the partridges and to certify you of this her Majesty's great care of you, to the end that you may by your letter written to me, take notice of this her highness's good affection to you, which I would have written somewhat brief, that I may show it to her majesty. She hath commanded me to send her my son, notwithstanding if it please her to forget it, I mean to forget also to send for him. In the mean time I pray you to give charge that he may practise his french, for fear her Majesty shall call to me for him again. She saith she will pose him in his learning. I pray you therefore to cause Mr. Pyke to see him take pains, between this and then. So praying you to commend me to my brother and the rest of the good Company there, with remembrance of my duty, I humbly take leave. At the Court this 16th of September, 1595,
>
> " Your loving and obedient daughter
>
> " Elizabeth Wolley."
>
> " To the Right Worshipful my very loving Father
> " Sir William More, Knight at Loseley."

The incident is a small one; but it is in such small things that men oftentimes reveal their baseness; and we would do well to remember this story when, later in this work, we see the man's name under such documents that profess zeal for religion.

CHAPTER III

THE OVERBURY PLOT

IN the withdrawing room at Loseley there is a striking painting of Sir George More, the son of Sir William. A legend is on the portrait: " Umbra celerrime transeuntis umbrae " (the shade of a quickly fleeting shadow). It is a full length portrait of a tall, wiry man of from thirty-five to forty years of age. The face is stern, the eyes are cold, the lines of the features regular and hard. A sharp pointed beard of reddish brown gives the strong manly face an air of decision. We can well imagine this man in the heartless Tower of London over which he was Lieutenant for some years.

Brayley's account (Vol. I., page 412) of Sir George is as follows:

> " George, the only son and heir of Sir William More (by Margaret, his first wife, the daughter and co-heir of Ralph Daniel, esq., of Swaffham, in Norfolk), was born on the 28th of November, 1553. According to Anthony Wood, he was educated at Exeter College, Oxford; but Mr. Kemp has published a letter to his father from the President of Corpus Christi College, in the same University, from which it appears that the writer, Dr. Wm. Cole, had the direction of his studies. In the year 1597 (40th of Queen Elizabeth) he was nominated Sheriff of Surrey and Sussex; and about the same time, he received the honour of knighthood. Like his father, he acquired the special favour of the Queen; who, on the 3rd of November, 1601, augmented his estate by a grant of the lordship and hundred of Godalming.
>
> " In the beginning of the next reign, he was appointed Treasurer of Henry, Prince of Wales. On the 11th and 12th of August, 1603, both King James and his queen were ' royally entertained ' at Loseley by this gentleman; and on the 21st of August, 1606, he was again honoured by a visit from the King. In 1610, his Majesty promoted him to the Chancellorship of the Order of the Garter; and in 1615, from a full ' confidence in his honesty,' and, as James himself expressed it, ' without th knowledge of any,' he appointed him Lieutenant of the Tower,

> after the removal of Sir Gervase Elwes, or Elwyes, from that important command, in consequence of his being implicated in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury."

The letters from King James to Sir George More, which have been found among the Loseley MSS., in the opinion of some historians, throw a lurid light upon the Overbury plot ; and give rise to the gravest suspicions. They show a feverish anxiety on the part of the King to prevent the Earl of Somerset from divulging something which would very seriously affect the king's honour. For a full understanding of the disgraceful business we must recall the story of the King's favourite, Robert Carr.

He was a handsome youth of twenty summers. He had come to a tilting match as equerry to Lord Hay. While presenting the shield, according to custom, to the King, his horse pranced and reared to such an extent that he was thrown heavily and sustained a fracture of the leg.

> "James," says Lingard (Vol. VII., Ch. II.), "ordered the young man to be carried into a neighbouring apartment, sent a surgeon to attend him, and repeatedly visited him in person. He found that Carr, when a boy, had been his page in Scotland, and was of the family of Fernyhurst, the son of one who suffered much in the cause of the unfortunate Mary Stuart. The plea of his services and those of his father was aided by the beauty of his person, and the ingenuousness of his answers. Pity insensibly grew into affection ; James looked on his patient as his adopted child ; he even took the pains to instruct him in the Latin grammar ; and, what was more to the purpose, in 'the craft of a courtier.' After his recovery he was daily distinguished with marks of the royal favour ; riches and honours poured upon him ; the lands which escheated to the crown, and the presents offered by those who solicited his mediation with the sovereign, gave him a princely fortune ; and he was successively raised to the honours of Baron Branspeth, Viscount Rochester, and Knight of the Garter. Still he affected to take no part in the conduct of affairs, till the earl of Salisbury died, when several important offices became vacant, and the hope of obtaining them, or the places of those who might obtain them, filled the court with a multitude of candidates. Of these many sought the protection of the two Howards, the earl of Suffolk, lord Chamberlain, and the earl of Northampton, lord Privy Seal, while others professed themselves the dependents of the young favourite, the Viscount Rochester.

" The court was agitated by intrigue, jealousy, and enmity; and James, for more than a year, balanced between the two parties, seeking in vain to reconcile their opposite pretensions. It was, however, a fortunate time for Rochester, who, though he held no official situation, transacted business as Prime Minister and principal Secretary. Unequal to the task himself, he employed the aid of Sir Thomas Overbury, who, from Carr's first introduction to the king, had been his guide and assistant. Overbury was an able and artful counsellor, but violent, capricious, and presuming. Though he had been banished from the Court for an insult offered to the queen, he was soon recalled at the solicitation of Rochester, but he could never obtain the good will of the monarch, who continued to look on him as a rival in the affections of his favourite, and the fermenter of the factions which divided his ministers. By the public he was courted on account of his influence with his patron; valuable presents were given to secure his favour; and on the morning of the 21st of April (1611), he boasted to Sir Henry Wotton of his good fortune, and of the flattering prospects which lay before him. Yet that very day before sunset he was committed a close prisoner to the Tower. The occasion of his disgrace was the unfortunate passion of the Viscount for the Lady Frances Howard, the daughter of the lord Chamberlain, Suffolk. At the age of thirteen she had been married to the Earl of Essex, who was only a year older than herself. Immediately after the ceremony, the bridegroom proceeded to the University, and thence to the continent; the bride was consigned to the care of her mother, who bestowed more attention on the ornamental than the moral education of her daughter. The young Lady Essex became the boast of the Court; and her wit, her beauty, and her acquirements, raised her above competition; but when her husband returned, she received him with manifest tokens of dislike, and if she occasionally consented to live with him in the country, it was always owing to the peremptory commands of her father. The meetings between them were short; he complained of the coldness of his wife; she spent her time in tears and recriminations—till at last these dissensions produced on the part of each a rooted antipathy to the other.

" At Court she had many admirers, among whom were Prince Henry and Rochester. But the latter was the favourite lover; and in one of their furtive meetings it was proposed that she should sue for a divorce from Essex, and afterwards marry the Viscount. Her father and uncle were led by political motives to approve of the project; and the king, who could recollect a similar proceeding whilst he reigned in Scotland, hailed it as the means of extinguishing the rivalry between his favourite and his two ministers; but by Overbury, though he had hitherto been the panderer to their pleasures, it was decidedly and violently opposed. He foresaw the ruin of his own hopes in the reconciliation of his patron with his enemies, he objected to the 'baseness of the woman,' and the infamy of such a marriage, and he declared that he both could and would throw an insuperable obstacle in the way of their union. Rochester had the weakness to betray his adviser, and Frances in her fury offered one thousand pounds to Sir John Wood to take Overbury's life in a duel; but her friends suggested a more innocent expedient to remove him from court, by sending him on an embassy to France or Russia. His inclination was first sounded by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and then an order that he should accept the mission was brought to him by the Lord Chancellor and the Earl of Pembroke. He refused, observing that the king could not in law or justice exile him from his country. This answer was pronounced a contempt of the royal authority, and the delinquent was committed, with the consent of his patron, to the custody of the Lieutenant of the Tower.

"Within a few days proceedings for a divorce between the Earl and Countess of Essex, on the ground of physical incapacity, were instituted before a court of delegates appointed by the king. All the judicial forms usual on such occasions were carefully observed; but the details are not fit for the eye of the general reader. With the public a suspicion existed that both parties in the suit, and the judges who pronounced in their favour, acted in opposition to the dictates of their consciences; and it was reproached to James, that, instead of remaining a silent spectator, he had spontaneously come forward, and exerted himself in the progress of the cause with the warmth and partiality of an advocate; an indiscretion which probably was prompted by affection to his favourite, whose gratitude or policy unexpectedly relieved the immediate wants of his sovereign with a present of twenty-five thousand pounds. However that may be, the king undertook to browbeat the judges; he answered their arguments; he forbade them to take additional examinations; he increased their number; and at last procured a decision in favour of the divorce, by a majority of seven to five.

"Overbury lived not to be acquainted with this judgment. On the preceding day (Sept. 15th) he expired after a confinement of six months; during which he had not been permitted to see his friends, or to communicate with them by letter. The time, the manner of his death, the reported state of the body, and its precipitate interment, provoked a general suspicion that he had perished by poison.

" After a short delay, Frances Howard was married in the royal chapel to her lover, who, that she might not lose in title by the exchange, had been previously created Earl of Somerset.

" At the ceremony she had the boldness to appear with her hair hanging in curls to her waist, the appropriate distinction of a virgin bride; the king and the chief of the nobility honoured the nuptials with their presence, and a long succession of feasts and masks, in which the city strove to equal, if not to outshine, the court, attested the servility of the men, who, to ingratiate themselves with the royal favourite, could make public rejoicings in celebration of a marriage which in private they stimgatised as adulterous and illegal."

All this account has been copied verbatim from Dr. Lingard's *History of England.*

Chapter IV

THE DENOUEMENT

It is not difficult to see how the King had benefited by this marriage; the Countess was the daughter of the Earl of Suffolk, one of the two rivals of Somerset, the other rival being Suffolk's brother, the Earl of Northampton. The marriage therefore sealed a treaty of peace in the king's household and gave James more freedom to attend to his money difficulties. These indeed were a nightmare, ever depressing his majesty with anxious care; and it was this need of money with its consequent intrigues which eventually led to the undoing of Somerset and his wife.

First the king's advisers undertook to secure a decided majority in favour of the king's demands against the next opening of Parliament. For this kind office they were known as the Undertakers. However, this expedient failed miserably, as it only served to inflame the anger of the opposition, which denounced the Undertakers as arrogant violators of the privileges of the Commons.

The king then had recourse to the old methods of compulsion: he imprisoned the most violent and refractory. The king gained nothing by Parliament which at that time received the name of the Addle Parliament.

Somerset had now risen to the " office of Chamberlain, acting at the same time, but without any patent of appointment, as Lord privy seal; and every inferior department which was not filled by their relatives or dependents, was sold without scruple to the highest bidder."

A new favourite now came to the front. This was George Villiers, a younger son of Sir Edward Villiers, of Brooksby, in Leicestershire. He bought the post of cup-bearer, ingratiated himself into the king's affections, and on the feast of St. George received the honour of a gentleman of the privy chamber, together with a yearly salary of one thousand pounds; the next day he was knighted.

Somerset now found himself opposed by a rival, who was rapidly drawing to himself all those who had any sort of grudge against the Earl.

The memory of Sir Thomas Overbury's mysterious death was revived; ugly stories were circulated at court; dark hints were let drop that fixed the gravest suspicions on the Earl and Countess of Somerset.

Matters were brought to a head by the fact that Elwes, the Lieutenant of the Tower, had made an incautious avowal to the Earl of Shrewsbury.

> " Secretary Winwood, at the instigation of the Archbishop and under a promise of protection from the queen, ventured to communicate the circumstance to James, who proposed certain questions to Elwes in writing, and, from his answers, learned sufficient to doubt the innocence, not only of Lady Somerset, but also of his favourite. Partly through a sense of justice, and partly through the fear of infamy, he despatched an order to Sir Edward Coke, the lord chief justice, to make out a warrant for the commitment of the earl. Still he kept him in ignorance of his approaching fate, he admitted him into his company as usual; and was found by the messenger at Royston, embracing the neck, and kissing the cheeks, of Somerset. That nobleman complained of his arrest in the royal presence, as of an insult, but was silenced by the ominous exclamation of James, 'Nay, man if Coke sends for *me*, I must go,' to which was added another as soon as his back was turned, 'The deil go with thee, for I will never see thy face mair.' In a short time Coke arrived, to whom James committed the investigation of the matter, concluding with this imprecation, 'May God's curse be upon you and yours, if you spare any of them; and on me and mine, if I pardon any.'
>
> Roger Coke in his Detection. See Weldon 100; *Secret History of James*, I. 409, II. 222, 223. Howell's *State Trials*, II. 965.
>
> " Coke executed the task with more than ordinary zeal, stimulated, perhaps, by the fear of incurring the suspicion of partiality, on account of his previous obligations to Somerset. After three hundred examinations, he presented a report to the king, stating that Frances, Countess of Essex, had been in the habit of employing sorcery to estrange the affections of her husband, and to win those of Rochester; that to remove Overbury, the great impediment to the projected marriage of the lovers, a plan was concerted between them and the earl of Northampton;

that, by their joint contrivance, Overbury was committed to the Tower, Wade the lieutenant removed to make place for Elwes, and Weston recommended as warder of the prisoner; that the countess having, with the aid of Mrs. Turner, procured three kinds of poison from Franklin, an apothecary, intrusted them to the care of Weston; that by him they were administered to Overbury, with the privacy of Elwes; and that at last the unfortunate gentleman perished in prison, a victim of the malice or the precaution of Rochester and his mistress."

Bacon, IV. 470. Reliq. Wotton, 427.

In this story nothing appeared wanting but a more satisfactory cause for the murder of Overbury. To discover this was no difficult task to Sir Edward Coke, who prided himself on the facility with which he could detect what was invisible to all others. In a letter from Overbury he found mention of the secrets of Somerset; these he contended must be seditious or treasonable practices; and with the aid of a few conjectures he boldly charged the earl with the murder of Prince Henry. The queen immediately caught, or perhaps pretended to have caught, the alarm. She had no doubt, she asserted, that a plan had been proposed to poison her, her son Charles, and the Prince Palatine, for the purpose of marrying the Princess Elizabeth to Thomas, the son of the Earl of Suffolk, and brother of the Countess. But James did not suffer himself to be misled by the terrors of his wife, or the suspicions of the chief justice; the only charge to which he gave countenance was that the earl had received money from Spain, and had promised in return to deliver Charles, the heir apparent, into the hands of the Spanish monarch.

Bacon, IV. 90.

The minor criminals, Weston, Turner, Franklin, and Elwes, were first brought to the bar. That they had been accessory to the murder seems plain from the report of their trials; yet many at the time attributed their conviction to a conspiracy against Somerset, and this opinion derived confirmation from the ambiguous language of some of the sufferers at the place of execution. (Bacon, IV. 447). Sir Thomas Monson was next arraigned; he had recommended Weston to be the warder of Overbury; and was exhorted by Coke to confess his guilt, and throw himself on the mercy of the king. But he rejected the suggestion with scorn, and to the surprise of the public was taken from the bar to the Tower, but in a short time recovered his liberty.

The remaining trials were deferred till the arrival of Digby the ambassador at the Court of Spain, to whom orders had been transmitted to repair to England, but from him nothing could be learnt to impeach the loyalty of Somerset. The affection of James began to revive. His reputation required that he should bring his ancient favourite to trial; but he proposed to save him from punishment by withdrawing him from the bar as soon as the verdict should be returned; and when he was informed that according to law judgment must follow, he announced his determination to grant him a pardon and with this view forbade the Attorney-General to exaggerate the offence, that the prisoner might not appear unworthy of mercy. The Earl was repeatedly advised to confess himself guilty, and assured that the king would grant him his life and fortune. "Life and fortune," he indignantly replied, "are not worth the acceptance, when honour is gone." To escape the disgrace of a trial, he earnestly solicited admission to the royal presence, or at least to be permitted to write a private letter to the king. When this was refused, he assumed a bolder tone, and endeavoured to work on the fears of James, by declaring that at the bar he would take an ample vengeance on the prince, who had betrayed him into the power of his enemies. As the day approached, he asserted that he would not leave his chamber; he feigned sickness or insanity, and made, or pretended to make, like Sir Walter Raleigh, an attempt on his own life. But the king was inexorable; he commanded the Lieutenant of the Tower to employ force, if it were necessary, and to inform his prisoner that if he indulged in irreverent language with respect to the sovereign, he would be removed from the bar without any stay of the proceedings on account of his absence. Hence it has been inferred that Somerset was in possession of some important secret, the disclosure of which would inflict indelible disgrace on the king. To me this conclusion appears questionable. No man was better acquainted with the royal disposition than the fallen favourite; his obstinacy, his menaces, and his despair were probably meant as appeals, sometimes to the timidity, sometimes to the feelings of James; and to the partial success of these appeals may be attributed the solicitude of the king to procure his conviction without rendering him undeserving of pardon.

By the exhortations of Whiting, the minister who had attended the other prisoners, the Countess had been induced to confess the murder. She was therefore separately arraigned before the peers. She looked pale, trembled while the clerk read the indictment, and at the name of Weston, covered her face with her fan. As soon as she had pleaded guilty, Bacon, the Attorney-General, stated to the court the evidence which he should have produced, had he found it necessary; but he had previously the precaution to remove her from the bar, that she might not interrupt him to maintain the innocence of her husband. At the conclusion of his speech, she was recalled, and received judgment of death.

Though Bacon, by this artifice, had prepared the court to believe the guilt of Somerset, he looked forward with anxiety to the result; for it was, he observed to the king, a different thing to obtain a verdict from a London jury and to convince the House of Lords. The Earl, contrary to expectation, appeared at the bar cool and collected; he never mentioned the king, but he rejected every exhortation to confess, haughtily maintaining his innocence, objecting to the relevancy of the evidence, and explaining away circumstances which seemed to make against him.

After a long trial the peers found him guilty; but by many this judgment was attributed more to the power of his enemies than to the cogency of the proofs. Within a few days the Countess received a pardon; the same favour was refused by the earl; he was, he said, an innocent and injured man, and would accept of nothing less than a reversal of the judgment. But some years later, aware of the malice of his adversaries, and of the alienation of the Prince, he sought that which he had before rejected, and received it with a promise of the restoration of his property. Within four months, however, James died; and Somerset solicited, but in vain, the fulfilment of the promise from the piety or the equity of his successor. The Countess died in 1632; the Earl survived her thirteen years.

It is impossible to say with any degree of certainty what are the merits of this sordid tale.

Some historians have not scrupled to accuse James of complicity in the murder. His attitude was indeed strange and open to some suspicion. But the evidence from which his guilt is argued appears so weak that it should be rejected as worthless.

CHAPTER V

STRANGE LETTERS

THE following letters, found among the Loseley Manuscripts, are, however, of very great interest under the circumstances. They have been used by Kemp and others as evidence of guilt. But Dr. Lingard's view of them appeals more strongly to one's sense of justice. They indicate indeed a feverish desire to help Somerset, which desire is amply explained by a natural return of the king's fondness for his erstwhile favourite.

On the other hand the threats, to which the Earl gave expression, were but the unavailing attempts to work on the impressionable character of his sovereign. There is no evidence whatsoever to show that he could substantiate any charges against him.

Vol. IV., No. 33.

> *" These 4 letters were all of Prince James, his own handwriting, sent to Sir George More, Lieutenant of the Tower (being put into that place by his own appointment without the privitie of any man) concerning my Lord of Somerset, who, being in the Tower, and hearing that he should come to his arraignment began to speak big words touching on the King's reputation and honour. The King therefore desired as much as he could to make him confess the poisoning of Sir Thomas Overbury, and so not to come to his arraignment but to cast himself on his mercy. But being a Courtier and beaten to those courses would not. I fully imagine that the King durst not or would not bring him to his trial. The gentleman the King sent in one of the letters to my Lord was Walter James Loomtimer, my Lord's Secretary. But the King, although he were the wisest to work his own ends that ever was before him, with all that could not work on Somerset. But that he ever stood on his innocency, and would never be brought to confess that he had any hand with his wife in the poisoning of Overbury, knew not of it, nor consented unto it. And I have often talked with Mr. James his chief servant about it,

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* I give the letters with their introductory note exactly as I found them amongst the Loseley Manuscripts.

who ever was of opinion that my Lord was clear and his Lady only guilty. For one time Mrs. Turner told him, that little did my Lord know what she had adventured for his Lady; but the truth is King James was weary of him: Buckingham had supplied his place.

"Sir George More's, my father in Law's legacy,
who in his lifetime made much account
of these letters, being every word of King James
his own writing, James the first.

"Good Sir George, I am extremely sorry that your unfortunate prisoner turns all the care I have of him, not only against himself, but against me also, as far as he can. I cannot blame you that you cannot conjecture what this may be for God knows, it is only a trick of his idle brain, hoping thereby to shift his trial. But it is easy to be seen that he would threaten me with laying an aspersion upon me of being in some sort accessory to his crime. I can do no more (since God so abstracts His grace from him) than repeat the substance of that letter which the Lord Haye sent you yesternight, which is this: if he would write or send me any message concerning this poisoning it needs not be private. If it be of any other business, that which I cannot now with honour receive privately, I may do it after his trial and serve the turn as well. For except either his trial or confession precede, I cannot hear a private message from him without laying an aspersion upon myself of being an accessory to his crime, and I pray you to urge him by reason, that I refuse him no favour which I can grant him without taking upon me the suspicion of being guilty of that crime whereof he is accused. And so fare well.

"James R."

It is clear that the King had received some message of a threatening nature from Somerset. That is all we can gather from this letter. Whether Somerset was able to substantiate his threat, does not yet appear. The last sentence is indeed a strange thing for a monarch to say to a man whom he believes to be guilty of murder. When James says that he refuses Somerset no favour that he can grant him without taking upon himself the suspicion of being guilty of that crime whereof Somerset is accused, he gives assurance of his royal pardon. There is a strong presumption that this assurance is given in consequence of Somerset's threat.

The following letter gives room for grave suspicions against the King. According to James's own admission, Sir George More had been appointed Lieutenant of the Tower by James himself " without the knowledge of any," and that on account of the confidences which he reposed in him. We naturally wonder why the King should be personally so concerned about this particular appointment if he had not some private interest at stake. He further admits to Sir George that his honour is at stake and that he had used " what fair means " he might, to move the Earl to confess. What has the opinion of a murdurer to do with the honour of a third person unless it be to draw suspicion away from him? And why should a perfectly innocent person fear suspicion?

But James excites our suspicions still more by saying that he has at last sent to Somerset " an honest gentleman, who once followed him, with much directions unto him." This honest gentleman, as we learn from the note above, was a Walter James Loomtimer, once the Earl's Secretary. He is entrusted with a private message from the King, and he is to be introduced to the cell " in such secrecy that none living may know of it and that after his speaking with him in private, he may be returned back again as secretly." James, it would seem, has much to hide from the world and much to gain from Somerset. His trust in the friendship of Loomtimer for the Earl and of More for himself urges him to adopt this strange procedure with a man who is on his trial for murder. He reposes himself upon Sir George's " faithful and secret handling of this business."

> " Good Sir George, As the only confidence I had in your honesty made me without the knowledge of any, put you in that place of trust which ye now possess, so I must use your trust and secrecy in a thing greatly concerning my honour and service. Ye know Somerset's day of trial is at hand, and ye know also what fair means I have used to move him, by confessing the truth, to honour God and me, and leave some place for my mercy to work upon. I have now at last sent the bearer hereof, an honest gentleman, who once followed him, with such directions unto him as if there be a sparke of grace left in him, I hope they shall work a good effect. My only desire is, that ye would make his convoy unto him in such secrecy, none living may know of it and that after his speaking with him in private, he may be returned back again as secretly. So reposing myself upon your faithful and secret handling of this business, I bid you heartily farewell.
>
> " James R.
>
> " 9th of May about one of the clock,
> in the afternoon 1616."

If the last letter was strange, stranger still is the following. Loomtimer has failed to persuade his friend and patron to confess his guilt in the crime. The King is much distressed by the fact, and does not " care to leave off to use all means possible to move him to do that which is both most honourable for me (*i.e.* James) and his own best." In this letter we see proof of very great anxiety and we are told that the King's honour is the cause of this anxiety. His concern leads him to very great lengths—he repeats whatever promises he made through Loomtimer, he accentuates them, he holds out an assurance of mercy, not only for the Earl but even for his wife, he urges More to plead with Somerset, to assure him that the King protests upon his honour that his " end in this is for his and his wife's good," he orders More to try and frighten his prisoner with a probable betrayal of his wife and to say that he (More) knows from some secret assurance " that in the end she will confess to him," he directs that this device should come as if it originated in no way from the King, and he adds: " Let none living know of this."

> " Good Sir George, Although I fear, that the last message I sent to your unfortunate prisoner shall not take the effect that I wish it should, yet I care not to leave off to use all means possible to move him to do that which is both most honourable for me and his own best. Ye shall therefore give him assurance in my name, that if he will yet before his trial confess clearly unto the commissioners his guiltiness of this fact, I will not only perform what I promised by my last messenger, both towards him and his wife, but I will enlarge it according to the phrase of the Civil law, quod gratiae sunt ampliandae, I mean not that he shall confess if he be innocent; but ye know how evil likely that is and of yourself ye may dispute with him, what should mean his confidence now to endure a trial, when as he remembers that this last winter he confessed to the chief justice that his cause was so evil likely, as he knew no jury could acquit him. Assure him that I protest upon my honour, my end in this is for his and his wife's good. Ye will do well likewise, of yourself to cast out unto him, that ye fear his wife shall plead weakly for his innocency, and that ye find the commissioners have, ye know not how, some secret assurance that in the end she will confess of him. But this must only be as from yourself; and therefore you must not let him know that I have written unto you, but only that I sent you private word to deliver him this message. Let none living know of this. And if it takes good effect, move him to send in haste

for the commissioners to give them satisfaction. But if he remain obstinate, I desire not that ye should trouble me with an answer for it is to no end and no news is better than evil news.

" And so farewell and God bless your labours.

" James R.

" 13th of May 1616."

It was all to no purpose. The prisoner refused all advances and remained firmly set upon the innocence of his cause. He seems however, to have ceased threatening his sovereign; and now he feigns madness.

" Good Sir George. For answer to your strange news, I am first to tell you, that I expect the Lord Haye and Sir Robert Carr have been with you before this time, which if they have not yet been, do ye send for them in haste that they may first hear him, before ye say any thing unto him, and when that is done, if he shall still refuse to go, ye must do your office except he be either apparently sick or distracted of his wits, in any of which cases, ye may acquaint the chancellor with it, that he may adjourn the day till Monday next, between and which time, if his sickness or madness be counterfitted, it will manifestly appear in the meantime. I doubt not but ye have acquainted the chancellor with this strange fit of his and if upon these occasions, ye bring him a little later than the hour appointed, the Chancellor may, in the meantime, protract the time the best he may, whom I pray you to acquaint likewise with this my answer as well as with the accident. If he have said anything of moment to the Lord Haye, I expect to hear of it with all speed; if otherwise, let me not be troubled with it till the trial be past. Fare well.

" James R.

" To our trusty and well-beloved
Sir George More, Knight and lieutenant
of our Tower of London."

Although these letters are strange in the extreme it would not be just to argue complicity from them. There is no direct evidence of any kind and the suspicions which James's nervousness might raise are not enough to form a basis for a verdict of " guilty."

This feverish anxiety on the part of James would find a perfectly reasonable explanation in his affection for Somerset. He would naturally exert himself even to the verge of indiscretion on behalf of a favourite whom he once so dearly loved.

The extraordinary passion of James for Somerset is apparent from a letter preserved at Lambeth Palace and published by the *Archaeologia, Vol. XLI.* I give it in the Appendix.

It would be as unjust to argue complicity from these documents as it would be to argue illegitimacy from the following curious attestations :—

Bundle 1329 (*II*) *Miscellaneous Papers.*

"The Widdow Bookseller of Bristol whose name I am charged with at the time, is in my Proposal for printing my Book Horae Sacro-Poeticae, and I charge not myself with the remembrance of that name, because I expect to see my Book published, and her name with the rest are due to me in that conspeximus. I will not be enslaved with this memory of persons' names for the future, but take the strongest test of Poysons, Razors, and other Trials (as I have done) to maintain my title and Dignity in the Pace till my Restoration.

"God my Father witnesseth this and my mother
Stuart has satisfyed you in yonder House
that I am her son according to the flesh.

"JAMES ye King."

What a world of memories opens up to us as we sit in the grey stillness of Loseley's withdrawing room! Those portraits that look silently from the past! The iron sternness of Sir George More and the benevolent round eyes of Sir William! Many sighs and tears were caused and witnessed by these two men. What moral blame is to be attached to them, it is not the purpose of this work to determine. It would seem quite likely that the misery which they brought upon large numbers of sincere Catholics and loyal subjects was rather the result of their distorted religious sense than of a perverse nature. It is true that their zeal to trample on and crush the old religion was well rewarded by the royal favour and by lavish gifts. Yet perhaps there was sincerity in their cruelty and we prefer to think they were not merely time-servers.

The following note was written at Loseley by Miss Anne Cornwallis Molyneux, afterwards wife of General Rainsford. It was written on a leaf apart and added to the bundle.

Vol. IV., No. 103.

"The first S. William More built Losely in the forty-second year of his age, being born in the Year 1520 and the 11th year of the Reign of King Henry the 8th.

> "He began the House in 1562, and finished it in 1568, just six years. He was a great and Good man, much liked by Queen Elizabeth who used to come to him at Loseley. He had a large estate in Black Friers in London, where the Court was kept at that time of day—with that and Country, his Estates were fourteen thousand a year.*
>
> "Sir George More his son built the Gallery side of the House. This Sir William More's Father was Sr. Christopher More, he lived in the old House which was also called Loseley before the present Loseley was built, and stood to the south, close to the back of this."

It will appear from this account that Sir William had amassed a huge fortune which brought him an income equal at least to £168,000 of our money. His religious profession, therefore, proved exceedingly profitable from a worldly point of view; whereas we shall see, in the course of this work, that those who remained faithful to the old religion had not only to suffer loss of property and liberty but were also subjected to the most revolting cruelty.

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* According to the Private Account Book of Sir William More, the building of Loseley cost £1,660 19s. 7½d. up to the year 1569. Mr. John Evans, in his communication to the Archæologia, expressed surprise that More could have afforded to pay so much; but from Miss Anne Cornwallis's account it would appear abundantly clear that the Estate could more than stand the strain.

PART II

A General Historical Sketch of the Reformation.
Tempore Henry VIII. to Charles I.

Chapter I

REFORMATION

The Act of Supremacy was a blow which struck at the foundations of Religion in Britain. It was a complete break with the past. England was cut off from the ancient and acknowledged source of authority and jurisdiction in matters spiritual. The Pope's name was henceforth to be execrated and his rule to be contemned. Not only was he no longer to be obeyed and listened to as the divinely appointed Vicar of Jesus Christ, but he was to be reviled by every heart and denounced from every pulpit. He was henceforth to be the enemy of all true Englishmen.

It has been the boast of many of our fellow countrymen that for the trammels of Papal oppression the Reformation substituted the most ample freedom and that the slavish acceptance of dogmatism was supplanted by the pure teaching of the Word of God. But the tale which is unravelled by the vast collection of documents at Loseley is one of oppression as grievous as any told in the annals of any country. It is a tale of religious tyranny. The yoke has changed indeed, but it was for one of lead. The King of England was henceforth to be the acknowledged source of jurisdiction in all ecclesiastical matters, he was not only the supreme spiritual legislator, he was also to be the pastor of pastors, feeding the bishops and people with the food of divine wisdom. He was to be the supreme teacher, having sole right to punish heresy and error. From him there was to be no appeal and his decisions were, for all intents and purposes, to be accepted as infallible.

In the document which follows it will be seen how effectually this power was exercised by Henry VIII. Herein he lays down rules for bishops and clergy both secular and regular to be followed in their sermons to the people. They are to preach " the true, the sincere word of God . . . and to publish the great and innumerable enormities and abuses " of the bishop of Rome. They are further to preach the royal supremacy in all churches every Sunday and high feast in the year. Schoolmasters are also ordered to teach their children this same doctrine. " And also all manner orations, rubrics, and canons of Mass books and in all other books used in the churches wherein the said bishop is named, and his presumptuous and proud pomp and authority preferred, utterly to be erased and abolished, neither at any time unless to his contumely and rebuke to be remembered; but perpetually suppressed and obscured." It is easy to understand how, in time the most wild figments of religious bigotry would obtain a lasting hold on the people and that they would come to look upon the Pope as the most evil and dangerous enemy of all self-respecting society. Indeed we know from many contemporary writings that no opprobrious epithet was thought too bad when describing the supposed iniquities of the Bishop of Rome. I give the commission in full. It runs as follows :—

Vol. V., No. 2. Loseley.

> "Trusty and Right beloved we greet you well. And whereas not only upon just and virtuous grounds and respects framed upon the laws of God and godly Scriptures by due consultation deliberate advisement and consent as well of all the bishops and clergy of this our realm as of all other our nobles and commons assembled in our High Court of Parliament and by authority of the same we have by good and wholesome laws and statutes made for that purpose secluded abolished and extirped out of this our realm the abuses of the bishop of Rome his authority and jurisdiction of long time usurped as well upon us and our realm as upon all other kings and princes and their realms as they themselves have confessed and affirmed but also forasmuch as our said nobles both spiritual and temp. assembled in our said Court of Parliament have upon like good lawful and virtuous grounds and for the public weal of this our realm by one whole assembly granted annexed and united to the crown imperial of the same title, dignity and stile of supreme head in earth immediately under God of the Church of England as we be and undoubtedly have ever been; which title and style both the bishop and clergy of this our Realm have not only in convocation assembled, consented, recognised and approved lawfully and justly to appartain unto us, but also by word of the profession and writing under their signs and seales have confessed ratified and confirmed the same utterly renouncing all other oathes and obediences to any foreign potentate and all other foreign jurisdictions and power as well of the said bishop of Rome as of all other whatsoever they be, as by their professing and writing corroborated with the subscription of their names and appention of their seals more plainly appeareth. We let you wete that we calling to our remembrance the charge and commission given to us of Almighty

God and upon a vehement love and affection towards our loving and faithful subjects, perceiving right well that the great unity, rest, quietness and tranquility and other commodities might grow and arise to them if that the bishops and clergy of this our Realm should set forth declare and preach unto them the true and sincere word of God and without all manner colour disinclination and hypocrisy manifest and publish the great and innumerable enormities and abuses which the said bishop of Rome as well in titles and style as also in authority and jurisdiction of long time, unlawfully and unjustly hath usurped upon us and our progenitors and all other christian princes, have therefore addressed our letters (which he hath already received) unto the bishop of that diocese where in part you be justice of our peace, straightly charging and commanding him in the same, that not only he in his own proper person shall declare preach and teach unto the people forthwith upon the receipt of our said letters to him directed every Sunday and other high feast throughout the year the true mere and sincere word of God and that the said title and dignity of supreme head appartaineth only to our crown and dignity royal like as the said bishop and all other the bishops of this our Realm have by oath and subscription of their names and seals confirmed and further given warning and charge to all maner abbots priors deans Archdeacons provosts, persons, vicars curates and all other ecclesiastical persons within his diocese as well to teach preach publish and declare in all manner churches our said just title style and jurisdiction every Sunday and high feast in the year. And further to admonish and command all manner school masters within the said diocese to instruct and teach the same unto their children committed unto them; and also all manner orations, rubrics, and canons of Mass books and in all other books used in the churches wherein the said bishop is named and his presumptious and proud pomp and authority preferred, utterly to be erased and abolished; neither at any time unless to his contumely and rebuke to be remembered; but perpetually suppressed and obscured. And finally to desist and leave all such articles as be in the general sentence which is intended to the glory and advancement of the same bishop his name title style and jurisdiction. Whereupon we esteeming you to be to such singular vehement zeal and affection to the glory of God, and of so faithful loving and obedient sort towards us as you would not only do and accomplish with your wisdom diligence and labour whatsoever should or might be to the preferment and setting forth of God's word, but practice study and endeavour yourselves with all your policy with study and good will to accomplish defend and maintain all such interest right title style jurisdiction and author, as in any wise appartaineth to us our dignity and crown imperial of this our realm have thought good and expedient not only to signify by our letters the particularities of the charge monition and commandment by us given unto the said bishop as before is specified, but also to require and straightly charge and command you upon pain of your allegiance as you will avoid our high indignation and displeasure at your uttermost peril setting apart all vain affections, respects, or other charnal considerations and setting only before your eyes the mirror of truth, the glory of God, the right and dignity of your sovereign lord and king and the great and inestimable unity profit and commoditys that shall by the due exertions of the same ensue to yourselves and all other our faithful and loving subjects you make and cause to be made diligent search and waits and especial in every place of the said Shire where the said bishop do truly sincerely and without all manner cloak colour or dissimulation execute and accomplish our will and commandment as is beforesaid. And in case you shall hear preach or probably understand that the said bishop or any other ecclesiastical person within his diocese do omit and leave undone any part or parcel of the premises or else in execution or setting forth of the same colourably coldly and feinedly do use any manner sinister addition interpretation or cloak them we straightly will and command you that forthwith upon any such default negligence or disinclination by the said bishop or any other ecclesiastical person committing contrary to the true tenour meaning and effect of the charge aforesaid you do make with all speed and diligence overture declaration and advertisement to us and our counsel of the default of their behaviour manner and fashion of the same. And, forasmuch as we of a singular trust and special love and zeal and assured confidence which we have in you and for the love and zeal which we suppose you bear towards us and the public weal of this our realm have specially elected and chosen you among so many for this purpose and have reputed you such men as unto whose wisdom discretion truth and fidelity we might commit a matter of such great weight moment and importance, as whereupon the unity rest and tranquility of this our realm doth consist and is established, if you should contrary to our expectation and trust, which we have in you, and against your duty and allegiance towards dexterity and wisdom whatsoever shall lie in your power for true and due performance and execution of our mind and pleasure to you before declared in this behalf halt stumble or wink at any part or speciality of the same, be you assured that we like a prince of justice will so extremely correct and punish you for the same as all the world besides shall take example and beware how contrary to their oath and duties of allegiance to frustrate deceive and disobey the just and lawful commandment of their sovereign lord and prince in those things as by the true hearty and faithful execution whereof you should not only prefer and advance the full honour and glory of Almighty God and set forth the majesty and imperial dignity of your sovereign lord, but also import and bring inestimable unity concord wealth profit commodity and tranquility to all the public and common state of this our Realm. Whereunto you be by the laws of God nature and man utterly obliged and bound.

" Given under our signet at our manor beside Westminster the IX of June.

" King Henry VIII. "

In this royal command we see in what manner the so-called religious freedom was dawning on the land. In the words of Green :

" The clergy learned by injunction after injunction that they were regarded, and must learn to regard themselves, as mere mouth-pieces of the Royal Will. The restriction of the right of preaching to priests who received licenses from the Crown, silenced every voice of opposition. Even to those who received these licenses theological controversy was forbidden. The process of tuning ' the pulpits ' made them at every crisis the means of diffusing the Royal will. At the moment of Henry's last quarrel with Rome every bishop, abbot, and parish priest was required to preach against the usurpations of the Papacy and to proclaim the King as the Supreme Head of the Church. The very heads of the sermon were prescribed ; and the bishops were held responsible for the compliance of the Clergy with these orders, as the sheriffs were held responsible for the compliance of the bishops. It was only when all possibility of resistance was at an end, when the Church was gagged and its pulpits turned into mere echoes of Henry's will, that Cromwell ventured on his last and crowning change, that of claiming for the Crown the right of dictating at its pleasure the form of faith and doctrine to be held and taught throughout the land."

That indeed a new religion was being thrust upon the people there cannot be the shadow of a doubt. The doctrine of Justification by faith alone without good works was in direct opposition to Catholic teaching; the Sacraments were henceforth to be reduced from seven to three, *i.e.*, Baptism, Holy Eucharist and Penance; although the Sacrifice of the Mass was not abolished, and prayers for the dead were still tolerated, Masses were no longer to be offered for the dead; Purgatory was denied and the power of the Church to grant pardons or indulgences was condemned; pilgrimages were abolished and many feast days were struck off the calendar; ceremonies had not yet come under the royal ban, but the veneration of images and relics was prohibited; add to this the entire abolition of the Church's Authority and the substitution of the Bible and the three Creeds as the sole grounds of faith, and we have a fairly clear idea of the change which has suddenly come over the religion of this country.

It must, moreover, be remembered that this giving of the Bible to the people was in the very manner of the gift an assumption of supreme authority on the part of the king and implied a claim to the highest infallibility in matters of faith. Although Miles Coverdale, a friend of Cranmer, was employed to collect and revise the translations of Tyndale "the Bible," says Green, "which he edited appeared under the avowed patronage of Henry himself. The story of the Supremacy was graven on its very title-page. The new foundation of religious truth was to be regarded throughout England as a gift, not from the Church, but from the King. It is Henry on the Throne who gives the sacred volume to Cranmer, ere Cranmer and Cromwell can distribute it to the throng of priests and laymen below."

It was this Bible that men were henceforth to accept as the Word of God; and the highest guarantee for the Divine Authorship of this Book was the King's word and command. But the royal magisterium did not stop here. The Book was indeed put into the hands of the flock, but these were not permitted to read with their own eyes; they must read with the eyes of the King; they must see only what he saw and understand only as he understood. Never was a system of forcible feeding carried out on such a large scale.

The king met opposition by the most revolting forms of repression. Of all the most learned and holy men in England at the time, John Fisher Bishop of Rochester, stood out pre-eminent. His example of loyalty to the old faith was at all costs to be put out of sight. Sir Thomas More was also to be sacrificed to the royal will. Scores of men and women were to be mowed down with the same ruthless-ness. The reader will pardon me for quoting Green once more on this subject.

> "Henry, like every Tudor, was fearless of open danger, but tremulously sensitive to the lightest breath of hidden disloyalty. It was on this inner dread that Cromwell based the fabric of his power. He was hardly secretary before a host of spies were scattered broadcast over the land. Thousands of secret denunciations poured into the open ear of the minister. The air was soon thick with tales of plots and conspiracies, and with the detection and suppression of each Cromwell tightened his hold on the King. With Henry to back him he could strike boldly at England itself. The same terror which had mastered the King was employed to master the people. Men felt in England—to use the figure by which Erasmus paints the time—"as if a scorpion lay sleeping under every stone." The confessional had no secrets for Cromwell. Men's talk with their closest friends found its way to his ear. 'Words idly spoken,' the murmurs of a petulant abbot, the ravings of a moon-struck nun, were, as the nobles cried passionately at his fall, 'tortured into treason.' The only chance of safety lay in silence. 'Friends who used to write and send me presents,' Erasmus tells us, 'now send neither letter nor gifts, nor receive any from any one, and this through fear.' But even the refuge of silence was closed by a law more infamous than any that has ever blotted the Statute Book of England. Not only was thought made treason, but men were forced to reveal their thoughts on pain of their very silence being punished with the penalties of treason. All trust in the older bulwarks of liberty was destroyed by a policy as daring as it was unscrupulous. The noblest institutions were degraded into instruments of terror. Though Wolsey had strained the law to the utmost he had made no open attack on the freedom of justice. If he had shrunk from assembling Parliaments it was from his sense that they were the bulwarks of liberty. Under Cromwell the coercion of juries and the management of judges rendered justice the mere mouth-piece of the Royal will; and where even this shadow of justice proved an obstacle to bloodshed, Parliament was brought into play, to pass bill after bill of attainder. "He shall be judged by the bloody laws he has himself made," was the cry of the Council at the moment of his fall, and by a singular retribution the crowning injustice which he sought to introduce even into the practice of attainder, the condemnation of a man without hearing his defence, was only practised on himself. But ruthless as was the Terror of Cromwell, it was of a nobler type than the Terror of France.

> He never struck ruthlessly or capriciously, or stooped to the meaner victims of the guillotine. His blows were effective just because he chose his victims from among the noblest and the best. If he struck at the Church it was through the Carthusians, the holiest and most renowned of English Churchmen. If he struck at the baronage, it was through Lady Salisbury, in whose veins flowed the blood of kings. If he struck at the new Learning, it was through the murder of Sir Thomas More . . . No touch either of love or hate swayed him from his course. The student of Machiavelli had not studied the 'Prince' in vain. He had reduced bloodshed to a system. Fragments of his papers still show us with what a business-like brevity he ticked off human lives among the casual 'remembrances' of the day."
>
> "Item, the Abbot of Reading to be sent down to be tried and executed at Reading."
>
> "Item, to know the King's pleasure touching Master More."
>
> "Item, when Master Fisher shall go to his execution, and the others."

In all this we see what an apt Vicar-General Henry had in Cromwell.

There are two very remarkable manuscripts amongst the Loseley collection which I have transscribed. They are unsigned, and are in different handwritings; but they appear to have emanated from the same source and, in all probability, to be fragments of one long document. The first manuscript is endorsed in the handwriting of Bray: "Copley, on his refusing to conform to the Church of England."

But, firstly, neither the handwriting, nor style of this documen is that of Copley, and secondly, the whole tenor and tone breathes authority, and gives the impression of a pastoral letter. I believe that it is a copy of a pastoral written by Cardinal Pole to the people of London and possibly to the whole British nation. What gives colour to this view is the fact that Cardinal Pole had studied at Padua, and in the document in question the writer speaks of his having made his studies in Italy. I am not aware that Copley ever did.

England had quite recently been reconciled to the Faith. The joy bells were ringing at Westminster. The penal laws against Catholics were revoked. Catholics had begun to breathe once more.

But twenty-two long years of cruel sufferings had told on the constancy of many. England had apostatised. Many who were

Catholics yet at heart, gladly came back to the Fold from which fear had driven them. With a return of freedom for the Faith came a revulsion of feeling against those who had brought about so much suffering. To the Catholic the very mention of Protestantism recalled the most awful brutalities. All men were aware of the sufferings caused by the suppression of the monasteries. It was well-known that the revenues of these institutions were almost entirely appropriated by the Crown and that thousands of men and women who had been dependent upon the monks for labour and living were now cast adrift, without means of subsistence. Few people were ignorant of the fate of those who had remained faithful to the religion of their forefathers. Stories of their sufferings were circulated amongst the people. The executions on Tower Hill, on Tyburn and in many other places had been witnessed by hundreds. The tale of butchery had been told with horror. Public floggings and mutilations at the pillory had been of daily occurrence and people were sick to death of all this butchery.

The retaliation in the reign of Queen Mary is deplorable and none deplores it more than Catholics. But Protestant controversialists rarely take into consideration the fearful provocation which led to the fires of Smithfield ; and they exaggerate the Marian persecution beyond all proportion.

"The main authority," says Green,* "for the History of the Early Protestants, as of the Marian persecution, is *Foxe's Book of Martyrs*. In spite of *endless errors*, of *Puritan prejudices* and *deliberate suppressions of the truth* (many of which will be found corrected by Dr. Maitland's *Essays on the Reformation*) its mass of facts and wonderful charm of style will always give a great importance to the work of Foxe."

This is an astounding statement for an historian to utter, for it savours of the greatest contradiction : that he should acknowledge a work to contain *endless errors*, to be coloured by *Puritan prejudices*, to admit *deliberate suppressions of the truth*, and in the same sentence to assert that its " mass of facts " and " wonderful charm of style " will always give a great importance to it.

Dr. Maitland, whom Green refers to above is no less sweeping in his condemnation of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*.

We have it on the authority of Hook, in his *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*†, that Maitland gave his opinion as follows :—

> " You may regard Foxe as being about as trustworthy as the *Record* newspaper. You must not believe either when they

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* Chapter VIII. *Authorities*.

† Chapter VI. Page 148.

> speak of an opponent ; for though professing Protestantism, they are innocent of Christian charity. You may accept the documents they print, but certainly not without collation. Foxe forgot, if he ever knew, who is the father of lies."

It is not my intention to embark upon a refutation of this work. This has been done over and over again. When first the *Book* was published in 1563 there were found writers who at once exposed its want of truth.

Thus Nicholas Harpsfield, writing under the name of Alan Cope, in his *Dialogi Lex*, and Father Parsons in his *Three Conversions of England*, confuted the statements of Foxe with deadly effect. Since then, many other writers, Protestants and Catholics, have shown Foxe to be no better than a romancer.

Hence it is the saddest perversion of the human brain that men should still cling to the old fables, and darken the horizon of history by quoting as Gospel truths historians who have gleaned their facts admittedly from this source almost exclusively.

It is a curious thing that although the Loseley Records contain a large mass of evidence relating to the periods of persecution, there is a most wonderful dearth of information of a reliable kind dealing with the Marian persecution.

Kemp published one document which I have also copied. I do not remember coming across any other which directly deals with the matter. It may be that even this record is but a copy from Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*. Its endorsement is so obliterated as to be almost illegible. The document comes to us from Hascombe in Surrey. It is undated. As a piece of evidence in support of the indictment on the Marian rule it is valueless. There is nothing to show that it is not the mere casual memorandum of some irresponsible person. Even should it have been the docket of an official it cannot be taken as evidence until we have learnt who he was and whence he derived his information.

On the other hand it will be seen that a vast majority of the evidence which Loseley gives us of the persecution inflicted by Protestants is of a very different charcater, being the official orders from the Council or the notes, letters and reports of the Commissioners, magistrates and officials of various grades. However, I give the document as it is.

Vol. V., No. 69.

" Marian ' martyrs' The names of the shyres of Surye and Sussex that dyd borne the Inosents wt the namis of Suche whom they brent.

Imprimis (In the second yere of the Raygne of Quene Marye) Mr. John Coveart (being Shyref) dyd borne
4 Dyreke Harman: John Lander Thomas Everson and Rychard Hooke.

Item (the thyrd yere) Mr. Wyllm. Suders (being shyref) dyd borne: Thomas Harland John Osward, Thomas a Rede, Thomas Havington: Thomas Hoode mynyster John a myls Thomas Donget John Foxman mother tree John Hart Thomas Ravendalle Nycoles holden wt a showmaker and
14 a Coryar.

Item (the fowarthe yere): Sr. Edward Gage (benig shyref) dyd borne Stevene Grotwyke, Wyllm. Morant, Thowas King, Richard Wodman: George Stevens, Margret Mores James Mores Dyones Burges, Wylyam Maynard Alexander Hosmar,
12 Servant, Thomas Ashedown's wyf and Grove's wyf.

Indorsed Mr t
of Hascombe.

"Sr Carell demaundyth X£ VIII s. of Fuller
not accountyd for in the freat accounpt of Strevewyck."

Whether it was true that these "Innocents" were burnt or not it is impossible to say. I am inclined to relegate the list to be classed among the worthless documents. Mr. Malden, in his *History of Surrey* (p. 197), writes as follows: "Of the two hundred and seventy-seven Marian martyrs enumerated by Foxe, two hundred and thirty-four, something near six sevenths of the whole number, came from the coast counties round the south east, from the Wash to Chichester Harbour with Hertfordshire and Middlesex thrown in." On the following page the same writer mentions the manuscript which I have just quoted, showing implicit faith in the document. He says: "In the Loseley manuscripts, edited by Mr. Kemp, is a list which the editor takes to be the names of thirty martyrs in Surrey, in Mary's reign. This is a mistake, for twenty-seven of these names belong to Sussex, and are those of persons who suffered at Chichester, Lewes, and other places in Sussex. The list, however, is valuable for its three Surrey and twenty-seven Sussex men and women are evidently not copied from Foxe. The order and the spelling of the names vary from those in Foxe, sometimes widely, as Dyreke Harmer for Derricke Carver. But yet they are clearly the same, with one exception at Lewes, and thereby afford corroboration of Foxe, as accurate on the whole, and nearly exhaustive." (*Idem.*, p. 198.)

I fail to see the reasoning of this passage. As for the order and spelling of the names I have no doubt that Mr. Malden's knowledge of sixteenth century documents will enable him to appreciate the fact that transcriptions are very often exceedingly wide of the mark, and that the liberties taken with the spelling of names is proverbial. Even Mr. Malden's article contains a misprint, as in his transcription Harman is erroneously spelt Harmer. Mr. Kemp also makes mistakes in his copies. No doubt he knew that William Saunder, Esq., was sheriff on the 14th November, 1555, and therefore he wrote in his transcription: Wyll'm Sanders, whereas in the original it is clearly Wyllm Suders. The matter has only this importance, that it destroys the cogency of Mr. Malden's reasoning, and that it still remains possible that the note was in substance taken from Foxe.

It is quite probable that the person who made this note, wrote from memory, without immediate reference to the source of his information. However, it is immaterial. I mention Mr. Malden's comments as an example of what takes place, very frequently, even with the most serious and honest historians. They are apt to be satisfied with what they have always taken as proved and it occasionally happens that documents which have been entirely discredited by the clearest historical evidence are still taken by them as absolutely sound and trustworthy.

The *Book of Martyrs* is perhaps the most extraordinary compilation of falsehoods ever offered to the public under the guise of history. As I have said, the book appeared in 1563, and its statements were vehemently challenged by Catholic writers, led by Alan Cope (or rather Nicholas Harpsfield), in his *Dialogi Lex* published 1566, and followed, amongst others, notably by the Jesuit Father Parsons, who, in his three *Conversions of England*, subjected the book to criticism in detail. The only defence Foxe could make was to protest against the unfairness, as he put it, "as though there were no historians else in all the world corrupted, but only this story of Acts and Monuments."

The charges brought against him were numerous. He wrote with great bias; he misrepresented and caricatured the doctrine of those whom he wished to discredit. Even Protestants came under his ban if they were not Puritans like himself; he counted everyone as a martyr who was put to death by Catholics for any cause; thus malefactors who met with their just punishment were canonised by Foxe if their judges were Catholics; he reckoned all as members of the Church of God who repudiated the Pope (even though they repudiated Christ as well) and who would have been sent to the stake by the Reformers themselves had they been in power; he accepted any and every story from any source provided it told against the cause which he assailed. It has been said that many who were burnt in Foxe in the reign of Queen Mary, drank sack in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. An amusing story is that of one Grimwood, of Higham in Suffolk. Foxe romances of a terrible but just retribution which befell this man for having perjured himself and wrongfully obtained the conviction and death of a certain John Cooper. From the *Book of Martyrs* we learn that he died a sudden and disgusting death while labouring at a stack of corn. Now it so fell out, that in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, one Prit became parson of the parish where Grimwood dwelt, and, preaching against perjury, being not acquainted with his parishioners, cited this story from Foxe. It happened that Grimwood was alive and listening to the sermon, and, on hearing the story, brought an action for slander against Prit.

It is not my intention to give an exhaustive answer to the objection of Marian persecution. The ghost has been laid over and over again. Even distinguished Protestant writers have discredited this Protestant "Martyrology." Thus Professor J. S. Brewer says that: "Had Foxe, the Martyrologist, been an honest man, his carelessness and credulity would have incapacitated him from being a trustworthy historian. Unfortunately he was not honest; he tampered with the documents that came into his hands, and freely indulged in those very faults of suppression and equivocation for which he condemned his opponents." (*Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the reign of Henry 8th*, By J. S. Brewer, M.A. (Longmans, Green), published 1862. Vol. I. Preface, page 80, footnote 2.)

This is a note concerning a statement that: "Foxe . . . . records only 2 cases of capital punishment for heresy during this early period of Henry's reign."

Dr. Littledale, in his lecture on "Innovations," delivered at Liverpool, in 1868, said:—"Two medacious partisans, the infamous Foxe and the not much more respected Burnet, have so overlaid all the history of the Reformation with falsehood, that it has been well-nigh impossible for readers to get at the facts." (p. 16.)

Notwithstanding all this, the *Book of Martyrs* is still glibly quoted by many people to the wounding of truth and justice.

Cardinal Pole's pastoral explains, with many illustrations from the Old Testament, the reasons why England should consider herself the most favoured of nations in her return to the Faith. It contains a brief reference to the burning of "briers" *i.e.*, heretics and dwells on the heinousness of apostasy and the need of repentance. It shows England to be twice blessed because she had twice apostatised, and twice returned to the Unity of the Fold. It speaks in glowing terms of the martyrs during the reign of Henry VIII, and in particular of Blessed John Fisher and Blessed Thomas More. It dwells on the advent of the Spanish King and dilates on the faith of this sovereign, praising also the virtues of his Catholic bride. It expatiates on the happy circumstances of the birth of a child and likens the restoration of religion by these means to the work of the most Holy Trinity. It ends with an earnest exhortation to repair the evil which had been wrought by the schism, to set to work to rebuild both the spiritual and the material fabric of God's Church.

CHAPTER II

CARDINAL POLE'S PASTORAL

"DA nobis meliora—And so will I say unto you. I have surely better hope, whatsoever I say, but you see the great perils. And what peril it is to receive great graces, and to neglect the same, and shall be to the world's end. Who were higher in glory than they for a great space, who were brought lower, to more shame and contempt? Moses might say, 'Quae est gens tam inclyta, quae habet leges, ceremonias, et Deos appropinquantes, etc.

"This benefit they had in Moses's time, whereby they passed all nations, and yet all was nothing to that grace and benefit they received afterwards; which was to have Christ born among them, to take His manhood of their stock, to have Him Which is the Life of the Law, Which is Ipsa Justitia, Ipsa Sanctitas, to preach among them, and never to depart out of their country, as long as He did corporally tarry in earth, showing them His example of life and all His miracles done afore their eyes. And who now be further from receiving the fruit of this glory; what nation lieth in more misery and shame? And why? But for the cause which Christ Himself, Quia non cognoverunt tempus visitationis suae: What a terrible example ought this to be to all them that have received great benefits, as I say we have, continually from our first receiving the faith, at such a time as Christ was first planted in our hearts here, and so continuing many hundred years, bringing forth many noble fruits to the honour of Him that planted you. And at last by your own fault were cut off, and like to have been withered, of the high grace and power of Him that first planted you, had He not as it were engraffed you yet once again. What country hath ever had the like grace? And now therefore, take heed you be not like the ground I speak of even now, upon St. Paul's words. I trust, I say, you be not. But this I say to you especially of the city of London: You being the first that received the fruit of this grace in the new plantation, this seed of benediction being cast first upon you, to make you a ground to bring forth all fruit of sanctity and justice, with more frequent rain of preaching and teaching than all the realm besides, greater examples, and, as I may say, miracles showed amongst you than any other.

"What then shall I say after all this done, that more briers and more thorns hath grown here among you than any other in all the realm besides? I cannot say so, nor will I not. Albeit that it might so seem. For a greater multitude of these brambles and briers were cast in the fire here among you, than in any place besides. But many of them being grown in other places, were brought hither and burned among you, may give occasions that you have the worse name without your desert. But the thing standeth not in the name. Bethink you yourself how it standeth. This, I say again, none hath had better preaching and teaching, nor have seen greater examples with their eyes, and such as may be well called, as they be miracles: As what a marvellous example was that, when the realm was falling from the unity of the church, when the foundations began to move, that God shewed to stay you? When he suffered one of your body, I means a citizen of yours, which was Sir Thomas More, born among you, and for his wit, virtue and learning most esteemed of any temporal man within the realm, and no less esteemed in other realms for the fame of these virtues, to be assaulted of the enemy of mankind, both a dextris et a sinistris: only to make him leave the unity of the Church, as a greater temptation could not come to a man; yet to overcome all, showing such constancy of faith, as he might be a marvellous example to stay all other. For this first, you may consider, what temptation through you was that a citizen of yours from a mean state suddenly to be exalted to the highest office of the realm as to be lord chancellor? What was it but a bait laid to take him with? To make him agree to that his successor did, to let himself be plucked from the stone of the foundation of the Church, and to be a mean to pluck other from the same. Was it any other, as the effect did show? And when the bait could not deceive him, nor make him willingly to leave his hold of the sure stone laid in the foundation, then what was to be done of the enemy to pluck him from thence, but by force? And now consider what bonds were put about him, to make him leave his hold, such bonds truly that were as strong as the love he bare to his wife, to his children and to his own life could make and bind him with, the which he must needs all break, except he would leave his hold of the sure stone, and be pulled from the foundation, to the which notwithstanding he showed himself to be so surely joined and fastened, that all this force could nothing prevail to pluck him from it. What kind of mortar was this? Was it any such that could be made by man's hand or by the power of nature, that should make him stick so fast that no power of nature, could once move him? This was the mortar that Christ brought with Him from heaven, that love, that charity he bare to Christ, to his church, to the body of the commonwealth of this realm. Was there any other thing of that force, of that virtue able to make him to overcome the natural love than a love and charity surpassing nature? Was not this a great miracle, and act and a great example far above nature? Surely a greater hath not been seen in this realm, nor in none other many hundred years. And that you may the better be assured that it was a very light above nature and a love given from above, I shall show you how far in this matter his own natural light did extend: which he showed, reasoning in this matter of the unity of the church with a friend of his, and a special benefactor of all catholic and good persons, whom I will not leave unnamed, for worthy is he to be named, and I doubt not but his name is in the book of life. It is Anthony Bonevyse, whom I think you all know, dwelling from his youth amongst you, being now a very old man. Who having very entire friendship with Mr. Moore, as friends and wise men be wont to do, coming together of the state of the commonwealth of this realm, and of that was like to come, for the disturbance of the quietness thereof, Mr. Moore began to show what fear he had of the change of religion in this realm, which he took, as it is, to be the ground of the commonwealth, and feared that it should begin of the perverse and heretical opinion he saw some inclined unto touching the Sacrament of the Altar. Whereof after they had spoken with great lamentation of that which was like to ensue thereof, albeit the same seemed, not at that time so unlikely to other, for as much as he that begun to break the unity of the church, was very stiff in the use of the sacrament after the old form and honour. But not so much he was moved to fear this for that he saw the present likelihood, but rather of an instinct that the fear of God had put in his mind, when the unity was not yet broken, and when he that was bent to break the unity, was most earnest in the defence of the Sacrament. Yet then began he to fear that the faith of the Sacrament should decay in the realm, not speaking any word of the fear of the breach of the unity. By reason of the scism and departure from the obedience to the see of Rome, which then was most like to happen forthwith, the prince being offended with the Pope, which fear made Mr. Bonevyse ask him more earnestly of his opinion therein, to the which question he, suddenly making answer, said as his natural reason gave, and that was, how he took not that for a matter of so great moment; but rather as invented of men for a political order and for the more quietness of the ecclesiastical body than by the very ordinance of Christ. This was his sudden and first answer; but he had no sooner said the words, but as though his conscience had been stricken for so saying, correcting the same with confessing that he had spoken without consideration, said to Mr. Bonvyse, how he should not take that for an answer to his question, which he would think better upon, for he had never studied it afore and therefore willed him within ten or twelve days to repair to him again, and then he would show him his whole determinate opinion in that matter. This, Mr. Bonvyse was glad to hear him say, and failed not at the time appointed, to return, to ask him opinion thereof. And at the first sight of him, Mr. Moore brake out in to a great reproach of his own self, for that he was so hasty to answer in so great a matter touching the primacy of the Pope, saying these words: "Alas, Mr. Bonvyse, whether I was falling when I made you that answer, of the primacy of the Church? I assure you that opinion alone, was enough to make me fall from all the rest, for that holdeth up all." And so then began to show him what he had read, and studied therein, which was so fixed in his heart, that for the defence of the same he willingly afterwards suffered death. Overcoming all Satan's temptation by the light supernatural, and by a supernatural love that the mercy of God had given him for his salvation, and greatly for yours, you taking example of him whereupon now if you will look, and of the bishop that died with him for the same cause which the bishop of Rochister, Doctor Fisher you shall see withall the great provision God hath made for this realm, the great tender favour He used to this religion, for the safeguard of the same in true faith and religion, giving so much grace to these two men of best fame in the realm their virtue and knowledge, to testify with their blood to the true doctrine of the Church. Which they did when the rest of the whole body of the realm represented in the parliament gathered of the spiritual parts temporal of the clergy and the laity had determined the contrary to the which determination those tways nothing agreeing when it was put most earnestly unto them other to agree or abide the pain of their new law which was death. They chose rather that part, and died as the martyrs of God both for testifying to the truth of that article and for seeing how, this alone broken, the gate was set open to Satan to break all the rest and bring into the Church here what pernicious opinions he list. As the successor showed he did whereof also he himself was not without fear, that was author of breaking of the unity, of that same what trouble it might bring the realm into but being warned of the same he thought to provide sufficiently for the same. By the same means he brake the unity, which was by the authority of the parliament, that should establish the doctrine of the sacraments whereupon was made the Act of the Parliament touching the six articles. But the parliament had not so great strength to establish these. The unity once taken away, as experience shortly after did declare in this, that the unity was not so soon dissolved but that the faith of the sacraments began to quail in many hearts; though they durst not, for a time, utter it. And of this were many privy councils made against them, in his privy-chamber, that was most earnest because he had dissolved the unity, to maintain the Sacraments; being, as I say, warned afore that the same change would follow, which tarried no longer to show himself openly but until he was dead, whose only person they feared; and then they burst out in such manner with so many changes till at last, openly in the parliament, the Sacrament of Sacraments was cast out; which had been the end of religion in the realm if God had not helped both at that time as the unity was broken, and at this time to restore it, working marvels at both times, as well in the death of those that died to let the going down of the authority of the which as for preserving in life that woman should set it up again, giving you space in the mean season to prove and taste the bitterness of the fruit received by the swerving from the unity of the Church; which at the first seemed very sweet, as did the apple to our first mother eaten against the commandment of God: And so did the fruit of the goods of the Church, taken against the laws of the Church; but what misery followed, you have tasted. As all the *sproperyte* of the first mother hath, for her taking one apple against the commandment and the like you have suffered, but that you should not be utterly undone, which must follow if true religion were taken away. I have showed what provision the goodness of God forthwith began to show you in the example of them which, for their holiness, learning and justice, each one in his state, the one for his the spirituality and the other for the temporality were counted the chiefest in the realm by the judgment of the prince that put them to death and tempted them most to life. Whom if one would have asked afore the great temptation came to him to leave the obedience of the church, whom of all men of the church in England he could better a'been content to remit his conscience unto in matters of any doubt in religion, for his learning, virtue and judgment, he would surely a'named none afore that same bishop of Rochester Doctor Fisher that he put to death afterwards. This I may the bolder affirm to be so, because when I myself came out of Italy from my study, coming to do my duty and to see the prince, it was almost the first question he asked me, whether in all the universities I had been and in all the cities and places where learned men and good men might be best known, I had found such a learned man, such a good man, such a bishop as the same bishop of Rochester, bidding me to say utterly as I thought. To whom I answered, considering so many parts together, although in one part one might be found to be compared and in some quality to exceed and pass him, yet in all together by that I could judge, I remembered none that I might prefer afore him, and, in truth, I had not so that a meter man by man's judgment to testify the truth of this matter in this realm. None could be found for the estimation he was in, not only with the prince then, but with the rest of the realm. And besides this, because both states in the parliament did fail, as well spiritual as temporal having providing such a guide to the spiritual as that bishop was, and such a one as might be an example for both the parties to follow, yet if of his abundant goodness he would have paint one for an example of the laity to stay them, surely a meter could not have been found than was Mr. More for the opinion that all men had universally of his wit, learning and justice and what opinion had the King of Mr. More, giving him the office of highchancellor did show, so that if God would send forth His Messengers in this doubt or any doubt concerning religion or justice to inform you the truth, more meeter and more to be believed could not have been found in the whole realm than those two that for their holiness and justice were most famous and so taken of the prince and of all men. And here now was the promise that God had made to stay the multitude that they should not so deeply fall which was the example of these two great and notable servants of God, that rather suffered their heads to be stricken off, than to consent that the realm should be cut off from the obedience to the head that Christ had appointed in earth the which men so well known, were sufficient to persuade all the rest, that that obedience was more precious than any life, with all the favour and honour that any prince could have given to any man—which they might have had above all other, if they would have esteemed everything in this life above that obedience to God and the church. And there were not these two alone that showed this mind of humble obedience to the Church of Rome; for God selected and chose out both priests and religious men out of those religious houses that were most reformed, such as were most notable for their virtue and religion; as out of the Charter houses, out of Syon, and the Friars Observants and of S. Francis quorum nomina sunt in libro vitae, that with their blood, testified the same, having life offered them if they would have swerved from the stone set by Chirst's hand in the foundation of the Church, to be the stay of the same. But they showed by the highest grace that God had given them that no so cruel death could be offered them but they had rather suffered it as they did, than to be brought out of the body of the Church. And why was all this but for your stay, but for your example and to show you what you should follow? And for this cause they were preserved, they were strengthened and augmented miraculously with grace above nature and sent unto you as guides. And now what should let you to follow them? What did let you before, it is too well known, which was too much love of the world, and fear."

The remaining portion of the MS., which connects this with the following chapter, is missing.

However, from several indications, such as the numbering of the pages and the style of the composition, it is evident that we have here fragments of one same document.

CHAPTER III

CARDINAL POLE'S PASTORAL (*Continued*)

" [GOD] Showed His mercy so favourable and so many ways unto you but you have cause for the transgression of his law to mourn and lament without measure, having so beside all measure lamented. Wherein I would wish you gave me but some occasion to temper your mourning as Esdras had given Him by that people, considering, your offenses to be much more than theirs. Whereof if you did show true repentance here were the very entering to keep your holy day, that is the way to join yourself with the celestial court, to show yourself to be of that body, to make the joy of your holy day universal through the whole Church which is in heaven as it is in earth, and by this you should make increase the joy of the holyday to them which have never no work day, you should bring them new matter of joy to them which never have any sorrow ; but this is the joy, to see your mourning, which maketh the way open for you to come to them, which the most desired and looked for. And giving them, by the same, more cause to praise God, this is their holy day which the repentant sinners all give them as the King of bliss Himself doth testify, saying that the Angels of heaven have more gladness of one sinner doing penance quam super nonaginta novem justis, etc. Whereby you may well consider what a matter of joy is true repentance, what a near way to come to felicity, which increaseth joy to them that be in the midst of all felicity, but touching you because you cannot have true repentance except you know well your offense, the which the more it shall be declared unto you, the more matter you shall have of repentance, and consequently the way more ready to come to joy. This, I am sure, if you did but consider the two points wherin principally you have offended God in this separating yourself from the obedience of the head of the Church ; the one being when you did cast out of his place and office the lieutenant of Christ in the government of the Church, the second when you cast Himself out of the Church, you would plainly see there was never a nation that had more cause to be repentant and sorry, and extrem fear of the vengence of God, especially considering withall how sore punishment God hath taken of others, that hath done the like. And, that you may consider it the better, I will put you in remembrance of like offenses that God found in His old people of Israel. Speaking first of your rebellion by refusing to obey the head priest He had given you, and the like is written in the Book of Numeri, where Dathan and Abiron made a sedition against the high priest that God had ordained which was Aaron, having of envy that the same office should remain only to him and his successors of his tribe, which they would have come to every tribe, what sore punishment followed of this, there it is written, which was no less than to be swallowed quick, the ground opening to take them. Could there be more horrible punishment; and therefore your case being more heinous, what could be looked for but other like and more horrible punishment. And that your case is more heinous you understand by this; that you, making the same sedition against the high priest in earth to whom you had given obedience many hundred years, this maketh it more offense to God than theirs, that Aaron's office was but newly begun, he being the first, and not yet confirmed with no special sign, as it was afterwards when his rod did flourish, all the rods of the rest of the twelve tribes remaining withered, which was not yet showed afore you began their sedition. But you have seen this sign afore you began this sedition, all the sees of the twelve Apostles representing the twelve tribes being in a manner withered, and that of Peter's, which Aaron did figure remaining flourished with fruit upon it. Yet after all this you made your sedition, nor would not take example of them when you were warned, but joined unto this a new disorder against God, which was never thought of by no seditious person under the old law, which was to give that office unto a king, to translate officium summi sacerdotis in the person of the king. This no man tempted neither in the old law nor new, were he never so seditious. And in the old we have this ensample of a king that when he would of himself take upon him but the office of a priest incensing only the altar, that suddenly he was stricken with the leper; and under the new law being so many heresies and seditions; and the very like in this part being now in the orient that have left the obedience of Peter's see and of him that Christ had set in his place them to have the governance of the holy flock touching matters of religion as Aaron had; Yet none of them in any country gave that office to a king to be supremum caput Ecclesiae in regno suo. And think you if in the old law, by the which the people of God was governed in such a manner as it was made a figure of the generation of the people in the new, binding the king to read the law and bidding never to have that book out of his hand, yet He would not permit him to be his own master therein, but willed him to take the interpretation of the priests which were ordered to be the masters and teachers of the spiritual people of God which maketh the body of the Church. And this order you have so perverted that every layman, every taverner you would make an interpreter of the Gospel which is above the law. But to speak of a king of the old law: when the people desired to have a king over them as other nations, to minister justice and be their head in the war, how God was displeased with them by cause they would change His order, which was to be ruled by judges, as it is written in the Book of Samuel, and yet granted them their desire for their own scourge. And yet their desire was not so far out of order to desire a king that might have the order of justice and of war which is the proper office of a king, but to give him a priests office to be head of the Church this was never heard afore. And yet God permitted you to have your desire as He did to them and like success of both: For as Saul, though he was such for the gift of nature, both of mind and of body, that the people looking upon him might conceive a great hope of his government to their comfort and wealth as any other nation might of their king, yet in conclusion they had so great discomfort of him and was such a scourge unto them, that they might well know thereby the greatness of their offense, if they knew it not afore he being his own destruction and theirs both as Samuel did prophesy he should and the last battle did show where he was slain and the best men of Israel with a great strage of the people. And you making a king after your inordinate the best desire to be head of the church which was not inferior neither in gifts of body nor kind unto Saul, what the end was, you know which brought you no less scourge in peace and war both then Saul did in war, which is a thing marvellous to be considered of you both to know your offenses, to repent thereof lest worse come unto you, which for to eschew, God hath given this warning, which is a warning of a fatherly correction with the rod. But if that be not enough to warn, beware of that shall follow.

" And this much I have declared unto you of the quality of your offense touching the first point in separating yourself from the obedience of him that Christ had put in His place, and given the same to a king, so contrary against all order of the Church. Consider now this second point how you have offended His own person, casting Himself out of His own house.

"This you did when you cast the Sacrament of the Altar out of the Church. This declareth your schism to be more pernicious than those that for their separation from the head Church God put under the temporal dominion of the Turks as in Grecia and Asia; Yet they never went so far, nor do not all this while as also if they left the obedience of the See of Peter, yet they cast not the Vicar of Christ sitting there out with such dishonour and villainy as you did here; and so God staid them, not to fall so deep as you have done in both. And this outrageous villainy done to the Blessed Sacrament is no less than the Jews did when they did crucify Christ covering His divinity under the form of man, being very man and very God; and the same very manhood and Godhood hiding Himself under the form of bread and wine to give Himself unto us for the food of life, you rejecting the same, you reject Christ utterly with all the fruit of His passion He suffered for you. And now, if there be not great repentance, what can be looked for, what is there but terribilis expectatio iudicii not only in the world to come, but also in this world which deserves much more than all others, qui sanguinem testamenti conculcastis, in so much the more is your offense that you will stand in the defence of the same against the whole Church, condemning all your own fathers, whereby eternally you condemn yourself. And in this world, if you had continued in that state you could have looked for no other but for the same vengence that the Jews had after they had crucified Christ, which was a ruin of their temperal state and to be opprobrium sempiternum as it was prophecied they should come, continuing in their malice without repentance. And to allure them to that, there was given them forty years space for time of penance afore the ruin of their city came. Wherein, they not regarding the mercy of God, suffered that miserable destruction of their city that never the like had been read in any histories of any nation; and ever since that time, to be dispersed, that no more they can be called a body nor a people, being sparkled in so many parts of the world living to their shame in all parts and hatred. To this ruin you were surely falling, the fire being kindled here of your desolation, what by dissension of religion, what by dissension of government, wherewith surely you had borned to the utter desolation of this country, if it had not pleased the high mercy of God for the honour of His own name, not for any your deserts, to deliver you. And if ever in any past God showed to have a special protection of this realm as He hath showed ever and as it was showed to King Edward the Saint by revelation with a voice that said regnum Angliae est regnum Dei, that He would show this special favour unto it was most showed 2 marvellous tokens of His special grace and favour He hath showed to the realm above any other. The one and the first after we had once received the faith in Pope Evaritus' time, and lost it afterwards. Yet God did not leave us, nor utterly reject us, as hath done other falling from the faith, but returned us to the same in St. Gregory's time again in such manner and with that abundance of Grace that we were were able not to edify one and other here, but also bring them to the faith that cast out the faith here, which were the Saxons; which by their coming hither being infidels at that time extinguished the faith, and their faith was kindled afterwards by those that came from hence. And as His mercy was notable in that returning to the faith of this realm, so it was no less notable that falling into schism from the Unity of the Church wherein also the Saxons hath been a great cause to confirm you in, you be returned again to the same, which is a marvellous grace. And I pray God with like success that we may help for the return of the Saxons to the unity as we did in the faith. And how soever it please God to dispose these graces that we have received already be wonderful and such that hath not been granted to other nations, whom, falling from the faith, God hath suffered to die in peccatis suis in their infidelity, and falling from the unity, to live in misery in the same, as He hath now suffered you, but at both falling hath recovered; And to make us know that it was His very hand that is dextera excelsi the hand of mercy looked a little of the manner of your delivering how you were brought to the church again, and of the manner of the building of the church at the beginning, when was opened to pour graces upon the Church in earth, joining the same with heaven to make one house, one church one city of both; which He did when He had suffered afore men to do the uttermost they could do by His wisdom and force to destroy the very house of God, the temple of God which was Christ Himself, and so destroy it that they thought themselves sure it should not be repaired again as the Jews and Gentiles both showed themselves to be sure when they had condemned Christ to death, nailed Him upon the cross, and there being dead, buried Him and closed up the tombe.

"Was not the like here, when not finding Christ Himself on the Cross but His image they made be cast down, they pulled Him from the Cross, and finding His very Body and Blood in the Sacrament that hung and died on the Cross, were not content with reverence. It should be closed in a tabernacle for the food of the passengers, but with all shame and villainy cast it out as meat of dogs, as I understand some did, it was never heard in the Church such abomination. And all this they did, as they said, for establishment of their state and wealth public here, as the Jews did kill Christ for the like cause, ne veniant Romani et tollant locum nostrum. And so they did this to maintain their state. But when they had all done and had began to stablish their state as much as man's wisdom and force could do this realm, no man resisting against them neither within nor without, when they thought themselves most surest, what followed ? Surely that same that the prophet speaketh of Antechrist when he hath done against Christ that the wit of man can imagine, joining his uttermost power thereunto, then he sine manu conteretur, as no man thought it should be done in this case ; but rather they that hoped best, were of this opinion that if there were any amendment hereof, should be done in manu forti ; as the people of Israel were delivered under Pharoe that would not suffer them to sacrify to God as God had commanded them. And who would have thought otherwise in this realm, where God was in like manner prohibited that they should not sacrifice as God had ordained to them, and more violently let herein than ever Pharoe did the children of Israel. Where like offenses were, what could be thought, but God would have used like vengeance, like manner of His scourge of justice as He did with Pharoe and the Egyptians, which should have been in manu forti ? But this manner, God did not use with you, but used the same with your particular Church here that He used at the beginning with His Spouse, the universal church and your mother which He redeemed out of captivity by choosing a virgin whose soul He had espoused where He had made His temple and in whom He had maintained the light of His faith, suffering her first to be so oppressed with all kinds of sorrow that it might be well said of her that was said to her's and all our mother the holy Church by the said prophet Isaye when God should come to comfort her, to whom God said he came tamquam ad mulierem derelictam et moerentem spiritu, ad pauperculam tempestate convulsam, et sine ulla consolatione, for so surely she was travailed many years and at last was brought to have her heart pierced with the sword of sorrow, as the Mother of Christ was in His passion : and for like cause. For as that was a sword of sorrow, to penetrate to the very Mother of Christ's heart, to see her son hang on the cross between two thieves, and there to die ; so this was a greater cause to this Lady, to see that when the indicible goodness of God had turned that doleful spectacle of the cross to the greatest joy of all the world had turned that death to be the cause of our life, that Body and Blood there to be a sacrifice to purge and take away our sins, and that same self-sacrifice to be given to us for our very food of eternal life which we received daily, which the church had never be food withall, this then to be taken out of the church to be taken from the altar the which the prophet Malachas prophesied should be set up in every place through the world, when he said in the person of God : In omni loco offeretur nomini mea oblatio munda. As it was fulfilled in the rest of the world, and as many years offered in their realm as we have years from the first receiving our faith; and that same to be suddenly taken away, to be denied to be an oblation and sacrifice in all places of the realm, remaining only this altar in this virgin's house, as this was some comfort privately given by God ne deficeret lucerna in Israel, yet that openly the same could not be done not there no other place of the realm being universally prohibited to great dishonour of God and slander of his people with the loss of so many thousand souls; that was the sword that did penetrate her heart, as it did all those that in their heart the honour of Christ and wealth of the Church was so oppressed as other the wit of man his counsel or force could bring to pass in this realm without any hope of man's hope of recovery."

CHAPTER IV

PASTORAL (*Continued*)

"AND then began God to show His power in such a manner that His hand might be known to be the doer and that there was no counsel, no force where God intended to put to His hand, as it was best known when God suffered them that would be the undoers of this woman and the Catholic religion withall, to put what counsel they could, which was as much as could be made by them that had highest authority in the realm against this maiden that had no counsel but God's counsel, nor no help but that God put in men's hearts to help her against them which lacking no counsel that men could give to destroy her, had gathered as much power as could be made for the time in the realm at that present, which she did not sooner show herself, but all came to her foot to submit themselves, she being made by the hand of God lady and queen of all dextera Dei exaltata for to set up His honour and glory in the realm, which was in no other realm in Christendom so soon oppressed. And this was the very victory of Christendom done in that manner for the redemption of our particular Church in England, that He used for the universal when He suffered death in Jerusalem, and showed himself conqueror of death and the malice of man in Jerusalem and through the world, and that this victory might take better effect, begun by a woman, and by cause non erat bonum mulierem esse solam, specially in such a great enterprise, the making also of their marriage, God took into His own hands to confound again all counsel of man, giving her a husband against whom for conjunction of matrimony with her there was as much resistence as by man's counsel could be procured. But here again God shewed that non est consilium contra Dominum. And that this was God's counsel, the success did show and that it was matrimony ordained by God, and for the renewing of the old faith and religion, having joined afore together both their titles in one she being the title by her crown, defender of the faith, and he by his crown inheritance unto of catholic which must be ever married together nor cannot be disevered if God should be honoured by either of them as they were in both their minds afore, and to bring these persons to be joined together in wedlock who so knoweth what impediments were laid by the way no man could say but it was the very hand of God, as God also showed to be His hand in adjoining to these twain the third person that was necessary to be had on so great an enterprise of restitution of religion if it should be brought to pass; which must come from him to whom God had given the charge as to the head for the governance of the whole church in earth, which is the Pope of Rome that sitteth Peter's chair, in his chair that was called the stone upon the which the head builder would edify His Church. From that stone must spring and flow out water as it did in wilderness or ever the children of Israel and the Church might taste or drink the pure water of true religion and justice. And from thence God sent one which to show that he was sent of Him and that his coming in came of His hand, having first preserved him out of all danger of mind touching his faith and bodily peril, wherein he had been much travailed, that men might know he was of His sending He let man's wisdom and counsel do what they could to let his entering, as they did the woman coming to the crown and her husband to join with her and so He suffered a good space like let to be put for the entry of the third, but should be minister to satisfy their godly desires to set up true faith and old religion. And in this God would show also non est consilium contra Dominum; And so brought him in, removing all impediments, to make the work perfect; which, in truth, when it was done, it might be evidently known not to be the work of these 3 persons, but the work of the Holy Trinity; which bringing these three together, made the work perfect by the same power man was at the beginning made perfect, when it was said, in the name of the Trinity; faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram. And so now in these 3 were represented one man which is made ex corpore et spiritu and by these 3 in one spirit, God having preserved them in one purity of faith He performed this work of the reducing the multitude of the realm to one obedience, faith and religion wherein standeth the unity of the Church. And hereby you be returned to be partakers of all graces and benefits granted to the spouse of Christ which is your mother and of all those that be partakers of any true joy in this world and very felicity in the world to come.

"And this being done and performed the day of the feast of St. Andrew, you see now for how many and great causes you have to keep solemn this day with all joy with such praises and thanks to God as you had never more cause to do, not when you were brought first into the church, when first you received your faith, whereby you entered to be in the number of where David, the great prophet, rejoiced so much to have the promise to be one of them that should enter, which, by your re-entry, you have recovered all. And this day is such that the other should nothing have profited you being once fallen out, except you had been returned again, which by the infinite mercy of God, you did this day. And here now resteth more to say unto but of the way to maintain you therein to enjoy the fruit of so great a benefit, and what is the way I showed you when I told you from whence St. Andrew came desiring to know where Christ's dwelling place was, he might dwell with Him, which place was from the stole of penance when St. John taught. And from this stole you must come if you will either find Christ or His house. But because it is not enough to repent in mind for that is past, except also you bring forth fruits dignos penitentiae, for so the master of the school, St. John taught his scholars, as Christ also taught His, therefore I shall show you, God willing, which be the worth fruits of penance whereby you may best show your repentance without the which you can never have fructus gaudii. These be those wherein you have principally offended God in the time of the schism when you cast yourself out of the grace of God, and returning to the same now to show yourself repentent that you were out, there is no other way, but as by your deeds you showed yourself out of the Church, by your deeds also you show yourself to be returned, working as it is prescribed to all them that be lively members of the same.

"And now to come to the particular days wherein must be some of these worth fruits of penance. If that were one of the finest deeds you did when you swerved from the Church, to cast down religious houses, to spoil churches and monasteries, now look where I desire any great thing of you, I do not desire you to set up that you have cast down, for that I know you yet be not able, not the prince himself is able, although I know there lacketh no good will but it is not the power of one prince that is able to set up in one man's life that was set up in many princes' lives when also their power was much greater. Therefore, this I do not demand of you, but this only, that you would in your heart agree with the desire of the Catholic prince and all other which esteem for a matter of great honour and service to God when such churches and houses be builded to the honour of God. This, I say, only I require of you that you would in those churches and religious houses, which being cast down and whatever your charge be set up by either, you will show such affect, such favour to the persons that be in the serving to the honour of God, as they may know at last, you bear the mind to the service of God in such houses and be discontented that your power is no such that you might help them yourself. For this beginning, I require no more of you, that have no other means to scold you but because the mind cannot be showed without some outward sign if outward deeds were no more but saying how not only monasteries be destroyed but all kinds of churches spoiled, you will testify your mind of displeasure of the same by giving if it were that is no loss to you, to spare some manner of ornament, some manner of gift, which none is so poor but he may do to restore some part of the beauty of the church, wherein that you may be the prompter affect to such godly deeds. But by the honouring of the persons that by the help of other to put in such places. And to the (end) you may bear the better affect both to the deeds and to the persons that be so helpen of the charity of other. I might schold you first in the ensample of the people of Israel approved of God. I will put afore you the example of the people of Israel, what they did when they returned to their country, finding their temple destroyed for the restoring of the same again, whereby also you shall know what a thing it is, how grateful to God to build a church to the invocation of His name.

"And what the people of Israel did to the building again of their temple it is written of Esdras their scribe, that was present and director of all their deeds touching religion; in whose book it is written that they showed so great an affecte to build their temple and the holy City where their temple stood that being molested of their enemies, which were the gentiles and pagans that dwelt in the country near about unto them; they held their swords in the one hand to defend them from their enemies, and with the other hand attended to their building; this instinct the Spirit of God gave them.

"And what trow you they do, that do build such houses to the honour of God? I tell you this it is one of the most noblest acts that man can do in earth, most according to the excellence of his nature, showing also a great grace above nature and most acceptable to God; as God Himself made it to be known in the first building of the temple in Jerusalem, and afterwards in the restoring of that same, being destroyed of the Chaldees.

"And touching the building, this we read in the book of Kings, that King David that was so dear to God, after long travail against his enemies which he overcame by the protection of God, and at last set in peace conqueror of his enemies, willing to show his grateful mind to the goodness of God by building a temple, dedicate to the invocation of His name, did confer this his purpose with Nathan, the prophet. Which hearing, the same could not but greatly approve it, as any man would that had a good instinct of nature in him. Which sentence afterwards notwithstanding, he did revoke, warned of God to do so; not for because God did not allow the act of worth of David grateful-minded, but because the work was more worth than to be done by him that had shed so much blood as David had in his wars. This high excellence of this work, Nathan would never have noted, except it had been revealed to him of God. And so God accepting David's mind and the preparation he had made of all manner of stuff for the building, reserved the beginning and performance of the same to his son, whom for David's sake, He would give peace for the purpose.

"By this you may perceive what an act this is, how grateful to God to build places to His honour for the invocation of His name. Which God confirmed again, when the temple afterwards was destroyed, which for to restore God did excite the spirit of King Cyrus which was counted amongst those princes that had no better knowledge of God but by the dim light of the law of nature, to be one of the noblest natured man that was in earth. And for this cause God made him noble and victorious to help at last to the renovation of His temple as he did delivering the Jews out of captivity of Babylon, and sending them with gifts to help the building of their temple, restoring all that was left in the treasury of the Kings of Babylon of the spoil of the temple. And this was long afore it was done prophecied of Isaias and the books showed unto the King. Which all showeth what a grateful thing to God such kind of building is, which hath ever been the instinct of those that have been counted above other to excell in gifts of nature and to have most noble minds, which being in any high state, having power to do it, have made as it were the compliment of the felicity in earth to build such temples and churches where divine power might be honoured as both in Greece and in Asia and in Italy and where more civility was used the multitude of such buildings doth show made of the best natured princes afore they knew how God should be honoured.

"And since Christ's coming, when the prophecy was fulfilled that God said by Malachaias as I rehearsed afore that in omni loco offertur nomini meo obliatio munda, and the true manner of religion known to the world, then in every place were builded temples, churches, and monasteries to the honour of God of them that were most revered to be in the favour of God, of the which Constantine the Emperor did leave marvellous monuments in Rome and Constantinople in this realm here there were such an so many that greater testimony could not be given of any nation of excellency of nature and grace withall . . . ."

The Manuscript here ends abruptly.*

I have thought it inadvisable to interpolate the letter with comments of my own as it would seem a desecration of antiquity to do so. But I have advisedly divided it into three chapters. The first part forms a distinct break and therefore naturally occupies a chapter of its own. The second, however, runs uninterruptedly in the original, but I have made two chapters of it as there are two distinct parts: the first, an account of the crimes of the national apostacy, the second, an account of the restoration under Mary and an appeal to the the people for restitution.

The Cardinal reviews the history of Henry's secession. He blames the people for their cowardice and irreligion. He likens them throughout to the Israelites, who although so favoured by God, showed themselves unworthy of His favours. Like them the people in this land renounced the beneficent rule of God and wished for a king to rule over them instead of a prophet, and this king assumed to himself the rôle not only of prophet but even of high priest.

The nation's crime was two-fold; they cast out the Vicar of Christ from the Church of God, and they cast out the Body of Christ from the tabernacle of the Church.

Moreover, these crimes were ommitted, notwithstanding the wise teaching and noble example of two such doughty champions of the faith as Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher.

The document further points to hopes, alas! too soon to be shattered. Whatever work of restoration had been undertaken was in a brief space made abortive and the ruin of the succeeding reigns was even greater and more sweeping than that of Henry.

Although the Cardinal speaks of the briers that had been cast into the fires at Smithfields, he was really a mild man, averse to such methods of repression. On more than one occasion he saved Protestants from the penalties which the law inflicted for obstinate heresy. He was deeply spiritual and filled with the noblest ideals—an ecclesiastic whose learning was of real value to the church in England.

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* *Los. MSS. Bundle,* 1085 (XVIII.), "*Ecclesiastical and Theological Misc. Papers.*"

CHAPTER V

CARDINAL POLE'S LETTER TO CRANMER

THE document cited in the last three chapters shows us the character of the feeling which was caused by the destructive measures of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. They were considered in the light of a rupture with all the traditions and religious practices of the past. The Holy Mass was not yet abolished by Henry; but, with the breaking off from the hitherto acknowledged fount of authority, the other links which went to form the chain of Catholic Dogma and to bind the hearts of men in one religion were sure to snap. Hence, early in the following reign Transubstantiation and the Eucharistic Sacrifice were condemned, and simultaneously, the doctrine of the Communion of Saints was shorn of all its beauty and significance. With the abolition of the Sacrifice of the Mass all connection with the supernal world of spirits seemed severed. The saints and angels were denied the power of intercourse with mortals. The deceased were reputed to have cast off, together with their mortal coil, their compassionate interest in things human. The mother, who had at last received in paradise the reward of her fidelity was thought no longer to care what befel the child of her womb. Bosom friends were parted at the grave in such a manner that the living might ineffectually weep and lament alone, and the dead had wakened to a blissful life wherein no thought of the one who had been left behind would come to bind the happy soul with the past.

Indeed, according to the new religion, there are but two states in the world beyond: the one is blissful where the just rejoice with no alloy of misgiving or pain; the other is wretched where the wicked weep and lament unceasingly for their evil lives. In the first state, although perhaps the soul might retain some love for earthly beings, it is a fruitless love, unable, as of yore, to help by prayer or counsel. In the second state the soul was lost to all the tender feelings of humanity, and was given o'er for evermore to darkest hate. There were no 'tweenways; no state of saving fire, no purgation. If the soul were sullied still with dust of earth the reformers would not admit of any purification after death. They were loth indeed to say that all remnants of sin were punishable with eternal loss. Hence they devised the " faith healing " of the spirit. Thus by a mere belief in the all-cleansing power of Christ's precious Blood they were confident that the soul would be made "whiter than snow." A sure confidence prevailed with the pious, not only that all was well with those who had departed, but that they had entered into the "joy of their Lord." For their faith had made them clean. They would not have it that prayers could avail the deceased. Chantry foundations were therefore abolished and the endowments went to swell the State Treasury.

The seven sacraments were reduced to two. Images were destroyed in numberless cases. Frescoed walls were plastered over and roods cast down from the screens.

Another document which will add colour to the preceding is the portion of a long Latin letter (to be found in the Appendix) by Cardinal Pole to Archbishop Cranmer, which I have translated. Cranmer is in prison and is already condemned. But the Cardinal hopes to touch him by his words.

The date is November, 1555. *

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* Although the document is unsigned and undated, there can be no doubt whatever about its authorship. Compare p. 93 with the following passage :

On the 6th of November, 1555, Cardinal Pole wrote another long letter to Archbishop Cranmer in which he says : "But because I have entreated this part more largely in another epistle, that I send unto you, wherein I show that standing, as you do, without repentance of the maner of your entrie to the service of the Church, you could never be nother good scholar of this doctrine, and moche less a master, I wil now procede no further to reason with you herein, knowing al to be in vaine, and no healp nor meane to recover you, but only prayer." (John Strype's "Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer,' Vol. II., p. 987.) That the Cardinal Legat is alluding to our letter is quite clear, not only from the fact that in it he argues at length the iniquity of Cranmer in the manner of his obtaining the see of Canterbury, but also from all he says of England's rejection of the doctrine of the Blessed Sacrament. The following extract from Strype's transcription will, by comparison with the document which I have translated, prove what I say beyond reasonable question. Compare the following passage with pp. 98 and 99 :

"Non in probabilibus humanæ saprientiæ verbis, ne evacuatur crux Christi : As it should be in this case. For if this probabilitie were followed, the sklaunder of the cross shold be voyd. For this were no sklaunder to the Jewes to hear Christ honoured in a figure, their being ever used to the same. Nor it wold seem so moch folyshe to the Gentiles and infidelles, after we had accepted Christ for God, to honour him in a figurative maner. But this being the Counsel of Christ to utter this great misterie in forme that he should have it sklander to both the Jews, that seke signes, and were used to be taught by figures ; and also the Gentiles, that styak upon the judgment of reason ; The more probable you make it, the further you swarve from the trew doctrin of Christ, and verie trew maner to teach it. And here may no new maner be taught. What a haynous pride is this, this doctrine passing a thousand yeare, and as manye hundred beside, as hath bene syneth this Sacrament was instituted, by the myddest of the Jewes and Gentiles, with this sklaunder and appearannce of folyshnes, never being found fawtie in any one of the Busshops and preachers of the word of God, that they confused the real presence of the body of Christ in the Sacrament of the aulter ; but al found fautie and condemned of heresie, which denyed the same . . ." (*Ibid.*)

Bundle 1329 (11). *Miscellaneous Papers, Loseley.*

"Indeed was it not so? Or do I invent or perhaps exaggerate these things? Acknowledge thy deeds, and first of all the following:

"Scarcely hadst thou been made Archbishop and Primate of the Kingdom by the Supreme Pontiff than thou didst break faith with him and perjure thyself in consenting to abrogate his authority.

"Didst not thou walk in the counsel of the ungodly? Later didst not thou stand in the way of sinners, and sit in the chair of scoffers: when thou didst summon before thee the cause of divorce between the king and queen, which cause was being examined before the Supreme Pontiff?

"And for this authority, which thou wast the first impiously to claim for thyself, didst thou not cite both parties? But, having pronounced a most iniquitous sentence, thou didst dismiss with contumely the queen who depended on the equity of her case. Thus the more thou didst honour the king by thy words, the more grevously in truth didst thou mock him in deed.

"For surely what else was it but mockery, that thou shouldst strongly advise him to put away his wife, when he was already making every effort to do so? Then, as if thou didst doubt lest perhaps thou mightest fail to persuade him, having added threats of censure, didst not thou thereby mock him the more; for all men knew that he could not be touched or restrained by the fear, as we say, of laws divine or human? What then, didst not thou laugh to thyself when thou didst act as a stern judge, urging the king with threats? And indeed I could not repress my tears when I read these things in a certain written document which had then been sent out in the name of the king's council. For I saw that prince, whom I dearly loved and revered, brought so low that, not only could he be mocked with impunity, but that he himself could command it and even offer a reward to the scoffer. Moreover how pestiferous was this thy decision and how deadly to thy country events that quickly followed amply testify. Indeed how much evil didst thou let loose by the judgment which thou didst pronounce when, sitting in the court of justice, namely, that the king should put away his lawful wife, of whom

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Then follows the passage which I have quoted above: "But because I have entreated this part more largely on another epistle, that I send unto you, etc."

As will be seen in the Loseley document, it is just this point of the age-long belief of the Church in the Real Presence which is dwelt upon by the writer.

he had had issue, and with whom he had lived in closest union for over twenty years, and that he should sever himself from the Church which is the common mother of all. How great was the destruction of property, the spoliations of churches, the ruin of the nobility, the violence of the people which ensued?

"Was there ever in any reign in so short a time so great and so pernicious a change of all laws and rights?

"Thou indeed art guilty of all these evils: for in opening to the king the door whereby he might depart from the church thou didst introduce in this kingdom the spirits of evil whereby it might be laid desolate and overturned. Hence if I were to cry to God that He might take revenge on thee for the blood of His servants and for so many crimes, would not my cry be just? Assuredly I would do so if these were my only consideration; but when I turn my mind towards and consider the blood of Him Who suffered death for sinners, I am forced somewhat to stay my cry while I understand what answer thou dost make to His voice which is the voice of mercy. If that voice could reach thine ears I shall rejoice and indeed I shall endeavour in every way that it may; but there is one way which I have already begun to adopt, that I should recall to thy mind those evils which have been let loose upon this kingdom by that authority which thou hast, contrary to the laws of the church, appropriated to thyself; thus anyone considering in his heart these evils may form an opinion about thee (who more than others dost offend God by ambition and pride when thou dost propound a new opinion and doctrine about the greatest mystery of our religion) to be the one wise man of all others who is able to understand those things which are hidden to the wise and revealed only to the little ones. How much more truly we should judge that thou art less wise than all the rest and if thou didst once possess knowledge that it has been blinded by malice and sins and that thou hast lost it, thus indeed it has happened; for such is the way of divine justice that those who knowing God have not glorified Him as God should first be delivered up to the desires of their heart (which happened to thee, when thou didst obtain those honours and riches which thy heart desired) then to disgraceful passions (which happened to thee, when contrary to the honour of thy order, against the laws of the church, thou didst have a concubine in place of a wife). Such being the case, what followed but that thou shouldst be delivered over to a reprobate sense? And to be sure this is that very sense whereby, contrary to the constant feeling of the church and of all pious people, thou dost deny that the Body and Blood of Christ are in the Sacrament of the Eucharist. In this thou dost show how much thou dost differ from their piety, and in order that thou mightest return to it I have thought fit to propose to thee the following method and line of thought: consider, ask thyself what thou hast done, why thou hast lived, by what entrance hast thou made thy way into the care of the flock of Christ, whether by the door or by the window. If thou shouldst discover thyself to have been called to this office to the end that thou mightest hide under the name and appearance of justice the foul lust of man, who can doubt that thou didst not enter by the door?

"And who does not know that in the first instance thou wast made archbishop for this reason alone. Thou wast indeed at one time known to very few, but to none wast thou more unknown than to him who conferred this honour upon thee. So far was it from the minds of others to think of such a thing that it seemed impossible to thee to allow such a thought to enter thy mind that any one could enter by any other way into the fold of the Lord in order to perform the duty of the first pastor in the kingdom.

"And who can doubt but that thou didst enter not by the door but by the window or rather by underground passages after the manner of thieves and robbers? Moreover thou didst enter in order to ruin and destroy as subsequent events have shown, since through thee have been massacred in this kingdom a larger number of the fold of Christ than at any time elsewhere or by any open enemy of the Christian Religion. I would wish you to recognise this so that being locked in prison and on the eve of suffering the death penalty thou shouldst not excuse but condemn thyself. Thus with that thief who together with Christ was attached to the cross thou mayest say 'We receive the just reward of our deeds' and at the same time thou mayest implore mercy of the Son of God Who was crucified for thee. If thou wouldst do this already I can see pardon prepared for thee, and indeed this is the only way open to thee to obtain it. It is for this reason that I have just now recalled to mind and placed before thine eyes those things which have been done by thee in the sight of all. Nor can anyone adduce with any truth in palliation of thy fault that thou didst not kill any one but wast kind and gentle with all men, although I hear that some have actually said this of thee: but they know not what they say: even thou perhaps hast not known whether thou hast killed anyone, because thou hast not entered into the fold of Christ with that intention nor after thy entry art thou conscious of having desired anyone's blood. But in this thy conscience has been deceived by satan, who, although he was a murderer from the beginning and daily kills men by his counsel, nevertheless, if he were summoned to defend his cause before a tribunal of men it would be easy for him to prove even to those whom he killed that such a crime was far from his mind: for he never persuaded any one to do anything but those things which are most pleasant for man in this life, which each one desires above all things and which above all make for enjoyment in this life. In truth, what else does Satan propose but honours, riches, pleasures, all those things in fine which seem to contribute towards a pleasant and altogether happy life? Now if this defense in no way frees Satan from the guilt of murder neither will it profit thee who hast been his minister in satisfying the lust and cupidity of the King in the shameful love of a woman, in unlawful honours, in unjustly acquiring riches and power, and in this way, although thou didst not desire his death, thou didst the more cruelly kill him, and through him, a great many others. Indeed thou didst offer him poison of such a nature that no antidote could be found to it: and this was so when these his evil desires thou didst shield by an appearance of justice, thus by lust corrupting his soul more effectually than if as a lewd enticer thou hadst led women to him.

" With regard to plunder, thou hast proceeded to open robbery more after the manner of a count or a duke (collecting his rents).

" This kind of infamy and crime may more easily be corrected by penance. Such is our every day experience. But where the appearance and name of what is honest and just is made a cloak for crime it excludes the possibility of penance and removes the hope of Salvation; this is what then happened to the King as we can testify and that to the greatest detriment of himself and of the whole kingdom.

" All this I now recall to thy memory that thou mayest understand (if even now God would open thine eyes through penance) that thou who hast been a zealous minister of dark deeds, a minister of shameful lust, a minister of ambition in taking possession of honours that belong to another, a minister of injustice in seizing the goods that belong to others, canst not in the least be a worthy minister and doctor nor even a disciple of that truth the understanding of which is above even the angelic intellect.

" If thus thou wouldst consider within thyself all this and that thou wouldst sincerely repent of having been the author of so many crimes and enormities, then indeed shalt thou find an easier deliverance from the dark prison in which thou hast so long been detained and access shall be opened to thee to light and pardon. This is the only way left wherein thou mayest perceive the truth and obtain salvation; and unless thou enter upon this way thou shalt seek in vain to find the truths in the Sacred Scriptures or in other dogmatic books of the Christian Religion, in vain shall others labour who strive to reclaim thee from error and false opinions.

"Therefore I have wished that thou shouldst first be admonished in order that if at any time God should grant thee repentance so that thou mightest recover thy senses and escape from the snares of the devil, then there might be some chance of opening thine eyes to the light of the truth in other things as in this mystery of the Body of Christ, of which we are speaking, and which thou dost deny to be in the Sacrament of the altar, and that thou mayest be forced so to believe by the words of scripture itself.

"But shall I discuss with thee what should be done? Indeed I would do this had I any hope of benefiting thee; but what hope can I have when I see that it availed thee naught that which John Fisher bishop of Rochester, a most holy and learned man has admirably written on this very subject, not to speak of many others, nor did the recent Oxford disputation have any better success although it was undertaken for thine own sake: for not only hast thou not been withdrawn from error, but thou hast become more determined and obstinate in that very error. This was certainly not the fault of those who strove to show thee the light of truth; but the greater was the light offered to thee the less could it be borne by thine ailing eyes and the more hurt did it inflict on thee.

"If, therefore, I refuse to argue with thee how shall I who now write to thee, succeed in that which I have so much at heart, that is, to lead thee to the light of truth; for thou thyself dost avow that thou shalt never change thy opinion unless thou art first convinced by argument.

"But it is not for me to profess to do this; it is the work of Him who created the light and divided it from the darkness. My task is to show the way which leads thereto and this I have in great measure done when I exhorted thee to acknowledge thy sins which separate thee from God, whereby thou hast most grievously offended Him and gone astray from Him and to return to penance and implore the divine mercy. If over and above all this I should show thee the source of thine error in this wicked and perverse opinion about the truth of the Body of Christ and at the same time I should pray to God for thy salvation (which indeed I cease not to do from my soul) then truly shall I have fulfilled my duty.

" Now thine error proceeds from the same cause from which Christ asserts the heresy of the Sadducees took its rise, when He said : ' You err because you know not the scriptures nor the power of God.' They did not understand the scriptures because they did not know the virtue and power of God. For when they denied the resurrection of the dead, they did not, however, deny the Scriptures, but interpreted them wrongly and fell into this error through their ignorance of the power of God to raise the dead.

" The same may now be said of thee and of all those who deny that the bread and wine are by the blessing of the priest and the words of Christ changed into His Body and Blood such as that which is written in the prophecy of Ezekiel* of those bones strewn about in that vast plain, when God had asked of the son of man ' Dost thou think these bones shall live ? ' and he had answered : ' O Lord, thou knowest.' and God : ' Prophesy concerning these bones : and say to them : Ye dry bones, hear the word of the Lord. Behold I will send spirit into you, and you shall live. And I will lay sinews upon you, and will cover you with skin : and I will give you spirit and you shall live, and you shall know that I am the Lord.'

" These things God said to the prophet, who having prophesied according to the command, adds : ' And as I prophesied there was a noise, and behold a commotion : and the flesh came up upon them, and the skin was stretched out over them, but there was no spirit in them. And He said : Prophesy to the spirit : Thus saith the Lord : Come, spirit, from the four winds, and blow upon these slain. And I prophesied as He had commanded me ; and the spirit came into them, and they lived.'

" So far Ezekiel.

" All this is intended to show the wonderful strength and power of God in raising the dead. Those who are ignorant of it lapse into the error of the Sadducees by denying the resurrection of the dead and at the same time they exhibit ignorance of the Scriptures.

" In the same way and for the same reason those err, who deny that when the priest prophesies and pronounces the words of Christ the bread and wine are changed into the true Body and Blood of Christ because they ignore the strength and power of God.

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* Ezekiel c. 37

"For just as it was said to the prophet about those bones: 'Son of man, dost thou think these bones shall live' so might the priest be asked when he has before his eyes the bread and wine: 'Dost thou think that these shall be changed into the body and blood of Christ?' And he might well answer after the manner of the prophet, 'Lord, thou knowest.' Neither is there any one amongst men or angels who could know this, for such power is beyond their ken, but it is not beyond the strength and power of God.

"Hence that which Ezekiel said, was also done: 'As I prophesied and uttered the words of God to the bones that what were dry and scattered should be joined together and receive life through the spirit.' The same may be said of the bread and wine which are consecrated by the priest that by strength of God and the power of the spirit they are changed into the body and blood of Christ. Those who ignore this power of God are also unable to understand the meaning of the Scriptures on this point.

"But, thou sayest, thou dost not see the change as Ezekiel saw in spirit the change operated on the bones by the sinews and joints, neither would thy belief in the power of God to do this make it necessary for thee to believe that He has done it.

"How many things indeed are there which God can do but which He does not!

"Thus he who would refute thine opinion in this matter would unavailingly argue that God can do it but must show from the Scriptures that He wills to do it. For thou dost not deny the power of God but His will. If therefore, any one could succeed in proving this all subject of controversy would at once be removed.

"What then shall I bring forward in order that the will of God in this matter may be known to thee and acknowledged? Where shall I look for it? Whence shall I draw it? From the Scriptures? These indeed contain it. By them have been revealed whatever God has been pleased to reveal to us.

"But to whom of us? Not all who read the Scriptures agree amongst themselves about the will of God in all things, since others interpret them differently and there is nothing about which there is more dissension amongst teachers than about the meaning of the scriptures as for instance on this very subject which we are now treating.

"To what therefore shall I have recourse? Whom shall I seek as interpreter? One other indeed whom we call the Church and of whom when God wished to unite her as spouse to His Son in the sight of all nations, He said: 'Thou shalt no more be called Forsaken . . . but thou shalt be called my pleasure in her.'*

"See what interpreter of His will God wishes us to have to whom we can always have recourse: to her in truth He makes known His will so clearly that He can say of her 'and thou shalt be called my pleasure in her.' Now she so evidently shows the pleasure of God in this thing that there is no place in the whole world where it has not been declared. If thou desirest evidence of this the testimonies of all ages from the time of the Apostles up to this day may be brought. Indeed, on this point there has everywhere been the most perfect agreement amongst those who have shone by their piety and their penetration of the Scriptures and have undertaken the office of teaching, so much so that they seemed of one voice and one heart and one mind. And this unity is the more conspicuous since on almost all the other articles of faith and religion contentions and controversies have at different times been raised while there is no less room for quibbling in this matter than in others, yet at no time in so many councils which were held for the extirpation of heresies is there to be found even a hint of any heretic who ever doubted of the truth of the Body of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar. But after the year one thousand, as I have said before, when a controversy was raised on the subject by a deacon of Anjou, his opinion was assailed to such an extent by many pious and learned men (chiefly amongst whom was Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury) that he was obliged to sing his palinode. Therefore what greater testimony can be given of the consensus of the Church and of the will of God which was revealed to her on that subject than the perpetual silence of so many years?

"And surely it would appear to have been the work of a singular providence of God that no one in the Church should dare publicly to attack this truth until it had been corroborated by a silence of a thousand years, as if the Holy Spirit Who rules the Church should thereby intend that any who subsequently by the impulse of satan should excite a controversy on that question should be confuted by that argument alone of the consensus of so many years and ages. Certes nothing should have greater force with those who do not show themselves to be so entirely inflated

* Isaiah lxii. 4.

with pride that alone they pit their wisdom against that of all who have hitherto existed in the Church. On these one would waste one's labour no matter what speech one adopted nor what reasons or arguments one used.

" If therefore, thou alone desirest to be thought more wise than all those who for a thousand years followed this view which we defend and which thou dost assail, then indeed, it seems, I speak with thee in vain. What is there left but that thou shouldst openly profess this thine arrogance or that thou shouldst deny this consensus of so many years ? If thou shouldst adopt this latter course it would not be difficult to collect the testimonies of every age and thus to make it evident. However, this labour is not at all necessary as it has been accomplished already by many others and as did recently the learned man Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of Durham, in order that he might convince thine obstinacy and that of others like thee.

" Yet thou wilt not suffer thyself to be convinced by this consensus, but thou dost appeal to the scriptures and although there are arguments whereby thou art overcome, as quite recently thou hast been vanquished in the Oxford disputation and before that also by that learned and most keen minded man Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, in the book which he wrote against thine own, nevertheless thou dost boast that never shalt thou be overcome since thou dost always contend that thou makest the scriptures to agree with thee.

" What is this but to condemn as ignorant of the scriptures not only those who are at present the professors of Catholic doctrine, but the entire antiquity and to claim for thyself a better understanding of them above all others. This truly must be a most sure sign of pride no less than of ignorance of the scriptures. For the things that are contained in them are not revealed to the proud but to the humble : God resists the former but gives His grace to the latter. In truth those apostles whom He marks out for their pride He also deprives of justice ; as when he says that they know nothing but that they weary themselves on questions and contentions of words, which would rather give a proof of thy weakness than that thou shouldst call in question and controversy this thing, about which no one who thinks aright about the faith ever doubts. But that this weakness is the result of the vice of pride, which is by far the most serious, is especially shown by the fact that in that very part of Scripture which contains the doctrine concerning the greatest mystery of our religion thou dost arrogantly claim for thyself alone a better understanding than thou wilt concede to the whole Church for a thousand years or rather from the day of her foundation up to the present. No one hitherto, has ever interpreted the words of Christ in the sense which thou dost follow, except those who have impiously cut themselves off from the universal Church and have deservedly been condemned. What therefore can I do in this matter? Shall I seek for fresh arguments to show thee that thou dost not understand the scriptures? For as the club snatched from Hercules, all has been taken from thee by this one argument and thy whole case collapses.

" But as I said in the beginning, I know that precisely for this reason dost thou err that thou art ignorant of the scriptures and the power of God; and this is the same cause of the errors of all heretics, as Christ pointed out when He confuted the error of the Sadducees. However, if what I have said hitherto and what has been said by others to the contrary be not sufficient, how can I succeed in making thee see this thine ignorance.

" This indeed is the first thing that I shall do: I will ask God the Father through the death of His only begotten Son that of His all pervading mercy He would open thine eyes and ears and that thus thou mightest hear the voice of truth and acknowledge His justice; and if it be necessary to use further speech I shall not be neglectful even of that. And I shall first endeavour to explain what it is to understand the Scriptures; for I know that thou art ignorant of it although thou dost arrogantly claim for thyself a better understanding of them than that possessed by others. Now he understands the Scriptures who recognises in them God's purpose; just as he understands the law who recognises the purpose and will of the legislator, which those learned in the law call the spirit of the law. This is what the Apostle means when about to leave his disciples he warns them saying: 'I have made known to you all the course of God'; which is equivalent to saying 'I have delivered to you the key of knowledge and the rule of works'; for he has both these who recognises the purpose of God in His word. Now this is recognised by him who recognises the power of the word: therefore when Christ said to the Sadducees, 'You err, not knowing the Scriptures,' He added: 'And the power of God,' which, that is to say, shows itself by the word and which if any one should not know he must also be ignorant of the word of God.

" If by chance this has been expressed somewhat obscurely, I can make it clear from the words of Paul himself, who, speaking of the word of the Cross, shows its power.

" The burden of what he says in truth is that he might destroy the wisdom of the wise and reject the prudence of the prudent: but this counsel of God, as Paul himself says, no one has known except him to whom the spirit of God has revealed it, as no one has known the things that are in man but the spirit of man; thus no one has known the things that are of God, but the spirit of God, and he to whom the spirit of God hath revealed them.

" Now this course has been revealed to us not only through those who first received the gift of the spirit and who imbibed the teaching from the mouth of Christ Himself, but also by him who though he had not conversed with Christ when he was on earth, was nevertheless rapt up to the third heaven where he heard those secret words, which it is not granted to man to utter, which however he uttered, that is, all those, to be sure, which relate to the elucidating of the purpose of God in the teaching of Christ. This purpose is to destroy the wisdom of the wise and to reject the prudence of the prudent; as he himself teaches in the epistle to the Corinthians, because the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe.

" Behold the purpose of God in the method of saving man, that after man had sinned He in such a way undertook at once the accomplishment of the saving work that because man had perished through his wisdom by not acknowledging God, *i.e.*, not glorifying Him and trying to please Him, he should be saved only by that which seems foolish to man, which doubtless is the victory of the word of God and of the Cross of Christ."

We regret exceedingly that the whole document has not been preserved. What we have seen of Pole's writings are, however, sufficient to make us appreciate his learning and charity and we are greatly edified to find that the busy Cardinal would take so much trouble to reclaim so shifty a sinner as Cranmer. The letter breathes charity in every line, and, considering the awful consequences of his crime, Cranmer is addressed in terms that are most wonderfully void of the spirit of revenge.

Chapter VI

REFORM LEADS TO DISSENT

It has been repeated *ad nauseam* by many a protagonist of the work of Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, and others that it was but a work of purification and that there was no break in faith or Apostolic succession. The documents quoted in the last chapters recall volumes of history on this subject.

Two things are clear to those who remained staunch to the old order: that the Reformers had effected a total change in the government of the Church in England and in the very essence of Christian worship. Although Henry VIII. had not gone so far as to abolish the Sacrifice of the Altar, this was definitely accomplished immediately after his death. Indeed, it was early felt that the abolition of the Papal Authority must be followed very speedily by a crumbling of the entire spiritual edifice. Hitherto the Pope was not only the acknowledged source of all ecclesiastical authority in matters of discipline but he was also the final court of appeal in matters of faith. He was the rock on which all men based their belief, he was the keybearer of all theological questions, he was the shepherd that ruled and fed the flock of Christ; he was the Vicar, the alter-ego of the High Priest, Jesus Christ Himself. The King had declared himself supreme ruler of the Church in England in matters temporal and spiritual, and in doing so had assumed to himself all the prerogatives of the Bishop of Rome. It was evident to Sir Thomas More and others like him, that, learned as was Henry, with all his despotic power he could not long succeed in retaining the smallest semblance of unity in religion, and that Christian worship must in a few years be completely wrecked.

Thus, indeed, it came about. Men could be coerced into an external obedience to the will of this self-constituted Pope, but no one would consider himself in conscience bound to give internal assent to his definitions and enactments. They could be forced to attend Church and to listen to violent denunciations of the Papal enormities; and many among the clergy could be cowed into a renunciation of their obedience to the Holy See; but they could never be made to look upon the Crown as the infallible guide in the interpretation of the Word of God.

The result of this upheaval was to set a multitude of men, with religious ambitions, devising new religions with the queerest and most grotesque peculiarities. Each individual became his own exponent of Holy Writ, and the more enterprising zealots assumed the *rôle* of teachers.

A Loseley manuscript tells of a joiner of the name of John Water, assembling on market days people from Wonersh, Bramley and other places round about and expounding for upwards of an hour the Sacred Scriptures. They were suspected of being Anabaptists.

There was also George Baker, who " was suspected to hold that sect." " Also there is one John Warner, clothier, whom we do somewhat suspect, although he be not so close and subtle as the others are, yet we doubt, he smelleth of this sect, because he cometh seldom to Church and to the communion, and when he is adjudged by the ordinary to contribute money, for his faults, to the poor, according to law, then he said that the judge had no such authority by the law of God, to take away his money from him and that he might as well take his coat from his back, and that he did wickedly so to do. And when he was advertised not so to judge of the Majistrate, he answered : ' What I think of the Majistrate I will keep to myself.' "

The peaceful little village of Wonersh seems to have had its share of such dissenters to judge by the following document :

> " The (answers) of Thomas Chaundeler of Wonersh, clothier, and Robert Sterete of Dunsfold, clerk, made unto me Wm. More Guildfold the 28th of May 1561, touching their knowledge of certain Sectaries and of their doctrines, practises and wicked devices as hereafter ensueth. "

" First generally they be all unlearned, saving that some of them can read English and, that not very perfectly. And of them that so can read they have chosen Bishops, Elders and Deacons.

Thomas Chaundlers, his Mark Robert Sterte "

" The Bishops Elders or Deacons do call those that be of their sect together, by the name of a congregation into one of their disciple's houses, which they also call a Raabe, where they commonly meet to the number of 30 or above and there then their Bishop or Deacon doth read unto the congregation the Scriptures, expounding the same according to his own fancy.

Robert Sterte."

"When every person shall be received into their Congregation, they cause all the brethren to assemble and the Bishop or Elder doth declare unto the new Elected both that if he will be content that all his goods shall be in common amongst the rest of his brethren he shall be received ; whereunto, he answering, "Yea,' then he is admitted with a kiss ; *viz.* all the company both men and women kisseth him one after another."

Robert Sterete hath heard this.

"At their meetings, either to receive new brethren or to read the Scriptures, they all have meat, drink and lodging at the cost and charges of the owner of the house whom they call a Raabe, and there they do remain as long as he hath good victuals for them ; whereby they do sometimes lose their Raabe, seeing himself so surcharged with them.

Robert Sterete."

"They are called together and in the night time and commonly to such houses as be far from neighbours, one of them doth always warn an other and when they come to the house of meeting, they knock at the (door), saying : 'Here is a brother in Christ, or a sister in Christ.'

Robert Sterete."

"They lodge both men and women in one chamber together at their said general time of meeting.

I have heard this – Robert Sterete."

"When they be all together, before their Bishop, Elder or Deacon will read the Scriptures unto them, he said these words : 'All ye that are as yet but weak, and not come to perfection, withdraw yourselves awhile and pray that you may be made worthy thereof.' Whereupon those weaklings do repair into one other place, and be not partakers of the doctrine that then shall be taught. But afterwards, as the Bishop, Elder or Deacon sees them from themselves, they shall be received to hear the doctrine.

Robert Sterete”

“The Elders must not speak, the Bishop being in place, nor the Deacon in the presence of any of them.

Robert Sterete”

“The Bishop or Elder doth always tell his congregation that he hath more to teach them so that he doth continually feed them with expectation of new matters

R.S.”

“Generally one of the Cong. is inhibited to speak or declare anything that he learneth until he be admitted so to do, and if he do, he shall be excommunicate and but with great repentance again received.

R.S.”

“They used at their assembleys to pronounce a general curse in Queen Mary's time against all those that were partakers of the Service in the Church then used, and did excommunicate such of their sect as they knew faltered therein, who could not again be restored without great repentance and humble suite.

R.S.”

“In the beginning of Queen Mary's reign they were so precise as they would not then come to the Church, thinking it damnable so to do, but when one year after they were changed from that opinion openly declaring to their brethren that they were all bound to come to the church and to do outwardly all such things as the Law required them at their hands upon pain of damnation, although inwardly they did profess the contrary.

R.S.”

"They cannot abide any of their sect to pray but those that be new received brethren, whom they call weaklings, thinking it a great fault to the rest, whom they affirm to be perfect, to pray unto God as though they were importunate, troublers and vexors of Him, having no need so to do.

R.S."

"They scorn all those that say: 'Good Lord, have mercy upon us, miserable sinners,' saying 'They that so say, declare themselves never to amend, but still to be miserable sinners, whereas we do live perfectly and sin not.

R.S."

"They may not say 'God speed,' 'God morrow,' or 'God even,' but to those that be of their sect and to others they say 'speed,' 'morrow,' or 'den.'

R.S."

"They may not say 'God save any thing,' for they affirm that all things are ruled by nature and not directly by God.

R.S."

"They did prohibit bearing of weapons but at the length, perceiving themselves to be noted and marked for the same, they have allowed the bearing of staves.

R.S."

"When a question is demanded of any of them they do of order stay a great while or they do answer and commonly their first word shall be 'surely,' or 'so.'

R.S."

"They may answer to every demandment not being one of their sect in such sort as they think shall best please him, for they say they are bound to deal truly with no man in word or deed, that is not of their congregation, alledging that he is no neighbour and that therefore they may abuse him at their pleasure.

R.S.”

“ They say they may be subtle and lie for the Holy Ghost was subtle.

R.S.”

(Here the deposition contains particulars which are best omitted.)

“ If any of their sect doth die, the wife or husband that overliveth must marry again with one of their congregation, or else the offense is great. The marriage is made by the brethren who bringeth them together sometimes that dwell above 100 miles asunder. As for example Thomas Chaundler of Wonersh, in the County of Surrey, had his wife fetched out of the Isle of Ely by two of the Congregation, the man and the woman being utter strangers before they came together to be married.

R.S.”

“ They do divorce again themselves asunder if they cannot agree before certain of the congregation as the said Chaundler and his wife did upon a misliking after they had lived one year married together.

R.S.”

(Here again we prefer to omit a portion.)

“ Their Bishops Elders and Deacons doth teach to their disciples that they ought to do whatsoever the Spirit moveth them unto. For this Spirit, as they say, never moveth them to any evil.

R.S.”

“ Whosoever is not of their sect, they account as a beast that hath no soul and shall yield no account for his doings, but as a beast shall die and not rise again in body or soul, and to prove that they allege a place out of Esdras, that who is not of God shall be as a drop of water that falleth from the house and cometh to nothing.

R.S.”

“ They hold that he which is one of their congregation, is either as perfect as Christ or else a very devil.

R.S.”

“ They hold it is lawful to do whatsoever the higher powers commandeth to be done though it be against the Commandments of God, and for that they allege the words af Saint Peter: ‘ Submit yourselves to the ordinance of the higher powers.’

R.S.”

“ They deny that Christ is equal with God the Father in His Godhead upon this part of Scripture: ‘ My Father is greater than I.’

* R.S.”

“ It is odius for them to say ‘ God the Son,’ for they deny him to be God, as aforesaid.

R.S.”

“ They deny the Trinity, scorning them that say: ‘ God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, as though by saying of those words, they should affirm to be three Gods.

R.S.”

“ They hold that no man should be baptized before he be of the age of 30 years. And therefore have divers of them been baptized at that years and upwards.

R.S.”

“ They hold that every man ought first to be in an error before he can come to the knowledge of the truth.

R.S.”

* Similar Signatures are appended to each of the following paragraphs.

" They say that as Christ raised the dead, cleansed the leaper' gave sight to the blind and walked on the waters, so do they.

R.S."

" They hold heaven and hell to be present in this world amongst us, and that there is none other, and for proof thereof they allege the 17th of Matthew of Christ transfiguration, that as the cloud remained Peter did see Elias and Moyses. So if the cloud were removed away both heaven and hell should be visible unto us.

R.S."

" They hold that they are bound to give alms to none other persons but to those of their sect, and if they do, they give their alms to the devil.

R.S."

" They hold that they ought not to bury the dead upon this place of Scripture : ' Let the dead bury the dead.'

R.S."

" They hold that they should so provide that if one do perish all should perish so that every one of them should reach him with his goods that decays.

R.S."

" They hold that none ought to receive the Sacrament before he receiveth their whole ordinances, as first he must be admitted with a kiss, then his feet must be washed, he must be baptized, then hands laid on him, and so receive.

R.S."

" They hold the Pope's Service and this Service now used in the church to be naught and yet to be by them used, as free in the Lord to whom nothing is unclean.

R.S."

" They hold that all men that are not of their congregation, as revolted from them to be dead.

R.S."

" They hold that no bishop or minister should remain still in one place, but that they ought always to be wandering from Country to Country.

R.S."

" They hold that the Angels Gabriel, Raphael, and others were borne of women

R.S."

" They hold that they ought not to say David's Psalms as prayers, for that they are righteous and without sin.

R.S.'

" They hold there ought to be no Sabbath Day, but that all days should be alike and for that matter they allege the ' The Son of Man is Lord over the Sabbath Day.'

R.S."

" They hold that as God made heaven and earth by Jesus Christ *viz.*, the Word, so He saved it by them.

R.S."

" They hold themselves to be Maries and say that Christ is come forth in their flesh even as he came forth of the Vergin Mary.
R.S."

" They hold that there was a world before Adam's time as there is now.

R.S."

" They hold that they ought to keep silence amongst themselves and that the liberty they have in the Lord may not be espied out of others.

R.S."

" They hold that no man should be put to death for his opinions and therefore they condemn Mr. Cranmer and Mr. Rydley for burning Joan of Kent.

R.S."

" They cannot abide any exposition of the Scriptures but their own, conferring one place of Scripture with another and so to say their minds of it without any other body's exposition.

R.S."

" They brag very much of their own sincere lives, justifying themselves, saying, ' Mark how purely we live.'

R.S."

" If any of them be convented for his opinions and doth deny the same by open recantation, he takes that to be a glory unto him ; as though he hath suffered persecution in this doing, and yet still inwardly maintaining the same opinions.

R.S."

" If they have anything to do touching the ordering of their temporal things, they must do it by advice, as to ask counsel of their *viz.* they must (go) to one of their bishops or Elders and to ask of counsel what he shall do, and that he must know.

R.S."

" When they give their Alms, there is a hat, set by the Bishop or Elder upon a table ; and then every one of the Congregation doth put under the hat that he is disposed to give ; all which money cometh to the Bishop's or Elder's hands, and so the same is by him or them distributed as they will ; but to whom, none other of the Congregation knoweth.

R.S."

" They have certain slights amongst them to answer to every question that shall be of them demanded with deceiving the demandment. As for example ; if one of them be demanded, how he believeth in the Trinity, he will answer : ' I am to learn of you,' and so provoke the demandment to show his opinion therein, which done, he will then say, he believeth the demandment, saith as ' he thinketh,' but not that he thinketh so.

R.S."

" They do decree all men to be infants that are under the age of 30 years. So that if they be demanded whether an infant ought to be baptized, they answer ' Yea ; ' meaning thereby that he is an infant until he attain those years as aforesaid, at which time he ought to be baptized and not before.

R.S."

" Their Bishops and Elders doth minister the sacrament amongst them and doth marry, etc.

R.S."

" Their Bishops and Elders and Deacons do increase in wealth, but their disciples become poor and fall to (mis)ery.

R.S."

" There be of the Congregation in divers places of the Realm, which do assemble together ; As in the Isle of Ely, Essex, Berkshire, Sussex, Surrey, Hampshire, Devonshire, and London.

R.S."

" David Oram, joiner, besides Basingstoke, in Hampshire, a Bishop, whom they do also call ' the Apple of God's eye ; ' he was before my Lord the Bishop of London that now is and by him made to recant his erroneous opinions at Wonersh and Guildford in Surrey.

R.S."

" Thomas Allen of Wonersh mercer, who in like manner was before my Lord of London and by him made also to recant, he did bear a faggot in the Queen's days that dead is and the like opinion he is an Elder.

R.S."

" Henry Re a Dutchman, the head of all the Congregation ; he is permanent in no place, but still wandereth to visit his flock.

R.S."

" There is a shoemaker that followeth the Court, a Dutchman, he is (very like) a hor...lrde, a blackman, his name we know not, he is an Elder and a teller of news unto them.

R.S."

" John Gryffyne of Lockwood in the (pari)sh of Green, mercer, within the County of Essex. He is an Elder, and a common marriage p le and keepeth strange women in his house cometh from divers places and now he c from Ely for fear of excommunication.

R.S."

(*Los. MSS.*, Vol. V., n. 4 : Recusants.)

CHAPTER VII

DISSENT NEEDS REPRESSION

WHAT we see described in the foregoing manuscripts is only a mere sample of what was going on all over the country; and it soon became apparent that the act which made the sovereign supreme head of the Church in England would cease to have any force or meaning unless repressive measures were adopted and carried into effect with the greatest thoroughness and alacrity.

Accordingly, Elizabeth lost no time in her efforts to uproot all causes of opposition to her absolute control over the consciences of her subjects. The Statute restoring the royal supremacy was quickly followed by a second "intitled an Act for the uniformity of common prayer and service of the Church and administration." This was followed by a third "intitled an Act for the assurance of the Queen's majesty's Royal power over all states and subjects within her dominions." Yet again a fourth act of a more searching and sweeping character than any of the others was passed in the thirteenth year of the reign of Elizabeth. This was intended to search out all those who thought differently from the Queen and to warn or punish them as the case might require.

Amongst the Loseley Manuscripts there is a copy of the Statute in Sir William More's handwriting. As it is of great importance to our subject, I give the document in full and ask the reader to study it with the care it deserves. It establishes the basis of all the campaign against the Catholics which was carried on with ruthless determination and systematic cruelty: I say advisedly the campaign against Catholics, as the whole mass of evidence before us, with very few exceptions, relates to them.

"The laws of the grand Commission Ecclesiastical for whole Realme.

The Recital of 4 Statutes.

Abolishing foreign authority.

The first intitled an act restoring to the Crown the ancient jurisdiction over the state Ecclesiastical and Spiritual and abolishing of all foreign power repugnant to the same.

Common prayer.

The second intitled an act for the uniformity of Common prayer and service of the church and administration of the

Sacraments made in our last parliament begun at West$^{\text{mster}}$ the 26th day of January in the first year of our Reign.

Royal power.

The 3rd intitled an Act for the Assurance of the Queen's majesty's Royal power over all states and subjects within her dominions made in our parliament begun at Westminster the 12th day of January in the first year of our Reign.

Disorders of ministers.

The 4th an Act to reform certain disorders touching ministers of the church made in our parliament begun at Westminster the second day of April in the 13th year of our Reign.

To inquire of all offences done against any the said statutes.

To inquire as well by the oathes of 12 good and lawful men as also by witnesses and all other ways and means you can devise of all offenses, contempts, transgressions, and misdemeanours done and committed and hereafter to be committed and done contrary to the tenor and effect of the said several acts and statutes and every or any of them.

Heretical opinions.

Of all and singular heretical opinions and offensive opinions, seditious books, contempts, and conspiracies, false rumours or tales, seditions, misbehaviours, scandalous words, and sayings published invented or set forth by any person or persons against us, or against any our magistrates or officers, ministers, or others whatsoever, contrary to any the laws or statutes of this our Realme.

Enormities in church or church yard or against any minister.

To inquire hear and determine all and singular enormities, disturbances, misbehaviours, offenses, assaults, frayes, and quarrels done or committed or hereafter to be committed and done in any church or chapel, churchyard or chapelyard, or against any divine service, or any minister or ministers of the same contrary to the laws of this our Realm.

Absence from the Church.

To inquire of and search out, and to order, correct, reform and punish all and every such person and persons, dwelling in places exempt or not exempt which wilfully and obstinately have absented or hereafter shall wilfully absent themselves from the church and such divine service as by the laws and statutes of this Realm is appointed to be had and used, by censures of the Church or any other ways or means by the said act of uniformity of common prayer etc or any Laws ecclesiastical of this our Realm is appointed.

The penalties of absence from the Church to be levied for the poor.

To take order by your discretions that the penalties and forfeitures limited by the said Act for uniformity of common prayer against the offenders in that behalf may be duly from time to time levied by the churchwardens of every parish where any such offense shall be done to the use of the poor of the same parish, of the goods, lands, and tenements of every such offender by way of distress according to the limitations and true meaning of the said statute.

Errors, heresies.

To visit, reform, redress, order, correct and amend in all places within this our Realm of England all errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offenses, contempts, and enormities, spiritual or ecclesiastical whatsoever which by any manner spiritual or ecclesiastical power authority or jurisdiction can or may be lawfully reformed ordered redressed etc. by censers ecclesiastical deprivation or otherwise, etc.

Persons affirming doctrines contrary to the articles of Religion to be deprived.

To inquire of, search out and call before you all and every such person and persons ecclˡ. which have or shall have ecclˡ. livings that shall advisedly maintain or affirm any doctrine directly contrary or repugnant to any the articles of Religion which only confine the confession of the true christian faith and the doctrine of the Sacraments comprised in a book intitled 'Articles' whereupon it was agreed, by the Archbishops and Bishops of both provinces and the whole clergy in the convocation holden in the year of our Lord, 1562 etc. And such persons being convented before you for such matter and shall persist therein to deprive from all ecclesiastical promotions.

Incest Adulteries.

To inquire, hear, determine and punish all incests, adulteries, fornications, outrageous misbehaviours, and disorders, in marriages, and all other crimes and offenses which are punishable by the ecclesˡ. laws of this our Realm committed and done or hereafter to be committed and done in any place within this our Realm according to the tenor of laws in that behalf, and according to your wisdoms consciences and discretions.

For the order of proceeding and punishment limited by this Commission.

To fine or imprison.

To use and devise all such politic ways and means for the trial and searching out of all the premises as to you or 3 of you shall be thought most expedient and necessary, And upon due proof thereof had and the offense or offenses before specified or any of them sufficiently proved etc that then you or 3 of you shall have full power and authority to order and award such punishment to every such offender by fine, imprisonment, censures of the church or otherwise etc. as to your wisdoms and discreations or 3 of you shall be thought meet and convenient.

Obstinate (to punish) by excommunication other censures ecclesiastical or to commit to ward.

To call before you or three of you from time to time all and every offender and offenders in any of the parishes and also such as by you shall seem to be suspect persons in any of the parishes and to proceed against them as the quality of the offense or suspicion shall require, And also such witnesses etc. that can inform you of any the premisses as you shall think meet to be called and if any person or persons shall be found obstinate or disobedient either in their appearance at your calling and commandment or else in not accomplishing or not obeying your orders, decrees etc. to punish the same person or persons so offending by excommunication and other censures ecclesiastical or by fine according to your discretions, or to commit the same person or persons so offending to ward.

Commandment to Justices to apprehend offenders in partibus.

To command all and every our Justices and other officers and subjects within this our Realm in all places by your letters to apprehend any person or persons which you shall think to be convented before you to answer to any matter touching the premisses or any part thereof to take sufficient land to our use etc. for his or their personal appearance to be made before you. And in case any such person or persons so apprehended be not able or will obstinately refuse to give sufficient land etc. then we will that in our name you or 3 of you give commandment to such Justices, Officers etc. either for the bringing of him or them before you or else to commit him or them to ward, so to remain until you shall take further order for his enlargement.

To take recognisance or obligation.

To take and receive of any offender a Recognisance or obligation to our use in such sum or sums of money as to you or 3 of you shall seem meet as well for the personal appearance of him or them before you as also for the accomplishment of such orders etc. as to you or 3 of you shall be thought convenient.

Nomination of the Register.

The nomination of the Register with authority to limit unto him such allowance for the pains of him and his clerks in that behalf as to your discretions shall be thought meet to be answered either of the parties, or of the fines which you shall assess and levy the force of this our Commission as the case shall require.

To appoint messengers.

To appoint one or more messenger or messengers to attend upon you for our services and to be allowed for their pains as before is appointed to the Register.

To appoint a Receiver for the fines with limitation for his charges and accounts.

To appoint a receiver to gather up such fines as you shall tax or assess of any person for their offenses and for the just receipt and true account to be made we will there shall be two paper books indented made, the one to remain with the said receiver and the other with the said Register in which books shall be entered all such fine and fines as by you or 3 of you as aforesaid shall be taxed and to every such entry in either of the said books the hands of you or 3 of you shall be subscribed and the Receiver thereby charged and that by bill or bills signed with the hands of you or 3 of you, you shall or may assign or appoint as well to the said Receiver for his pains in receiving the said fines, as also to the said Registers and other officers such sum or sums of money for their rewards and pains as to you or 3 of you shall be thought convenient.

To certify every Michaelmas term of the said Receiver.

To certify every Michaelmas term unto our Court of Exchequer the name of the said Receiver and a note of such fines as he shall receive that appear the determination of his account we may be answered that to us appertaineth.

Where there were divers Cathedral and Collegiat churches, Grammar Schools, and other ecclesiastical incorporations erected and founded in the late Reigns of H. the VIIIth, Edward VIth, Queen Mary and the late Cardinal Pole, the orders, rules and statutes whereof be either none at all or altogether imperfect, or being made at such time as the Crown and requirement of this Realm was subdued to the foreign authority of Rome they be in some points contrary, diverse, and repugnant to the dignity and prerogative of our Crown and laws etc.

To renew and reform statutes of Cathedral Churches etc. and to advertise the Reformation.

To have power and authority to cause and command all and singular the ordinances, rules and statutes and other writings whatsoever touching their several foundations to be exhibited before you or 6 of you, and upon deliberate search and examination of the said Statutes to be made speedy and undelayed certificate of the enormities and defects, and with the same to advertise us of such good orders and statutes as you shall think meet and convenient to be by us made and set forth for the better order etc. to the end we may proceed to the altering and establishing of the same etc. according to an act of Parliament thereof made in the first year of our Reign.

To tender the oath.

To tender the oath to such obstinate persons which do refuse to acknowledge the Jurisdiction, power, privilege, superiority, and pre-eminence spiritual and ecclesiastical over all states and subjects within this our Realm and other our dominions which is given unto us by virtue of the foresaid two acts, the one intitled "an Act restoring to the Crown the ancient Jurisdiction etc." and the other intitled "An Act for the Assurance of the Queen's Majesty's Regal power and all estates and subjects within her dominions."

To certify the refusal of the oath.

To certify the refusal of every oath unto the King's Bench.

To execute this commission notwithstanding appellation.

To execute this commission and every branch and part, notwithstanding any appellation, provocation, privilege, or exemption in that behalf to be had or any Laws, Statutes, Proclamations etc. which be or may seem contrary notwithstanding.

To make a Seal for process to be awarded.

And for the better credit and more manifest notice of your doings in the execution of this our Commission our pleasure and commandment is that unto all your letters, missives, processes, decrees, orders, and judgments from you or any 3 of you to be awarded, sent forth, had, made, decreed, given, or pronounced, you or 3 of you shall cause to be put and affixed a Seal engraved with the rose and the Crown over the Rose and the letter E before and the letter R after the same with a ring or circumference about the same seal containing as followeth. *Sigil. Comisar. Reg. Ma. ad. cas. Eccliast.*

Officers to be assisting etc.

To command all Justices and other officers and subjects to be assisting etc. (*Los. MSS.*, Vol. V., n. 10).

CHAPTER VIII

REPRESSION LEADS TO INQUISITION

THUS a Commission composed of bishops and magistrates, was formed for the purpose of a strict inquisition. Under its watchful eye churchwardens and pursuivants were organised for the purpose of searching out not only Catholics but even those who still retained a lurking sympathy for Catholicism. This Commission was constituted judge in matters of faith and was instructed to punish by fine or imprisonment all who were, in the opinion of the judges, guilty of "heretical opinions, offensive opinions, seditious books, contempts and conspiracies, false rumours or tales, seditions, misbehaviours, scandalous words or sayings against the crown or against any our magistrates or officers, ministers, or others whatsoever, contrary to any the laws or statutes of this our Realm."

From this clause, it became clear that any words which might be interpreted as expressions of disapproval of laws—be they ever so iniquitous or unjust—or of magistrates, police officers or ministers—be they ever so cruel and cowardly—were crimes to be punished by "fines, imprisonment, censures of the Church or otherwise &c. as to the wisdom & discretions of all the members of the commission or three of them shall be thought meet and expedient."

As a test of what people were thinking internally and lest dissenters should take refuge in silence, they were forced to come to the Protestant service and openly make profession of the Protestant religion. Absentees were to be summoned to give a reason for their absence; and should their reasons prove unsatisfactory they were to be fined.

It was indeed foreseen that there might be here and there some over-tender-hearted and scrupulous justices who would refrain from prosecuting those who were acting in accordance with the dictates of their consciences. Their zeal in this matter was carefully watched and they must be brought into line and forced to subscribe to the oath. Those who refused were to be bound in the sum of £200 if they were knights, or of 200 marks if esquires.

A letter from the Council to the Justices of the Peace in Surrey.

> "After our hearty com. These are to signify unto you that we have been informed that some of you being in commission of

the peace within the county, whose office and duty is to set forth and see maintained the Queen's Majesty's laws ordinances and proceedings published by her Highness and agreed by the realm in parl., do nevertheless contemn (and that of set purpose) to do the same in certain points concerning the state of Religion established by the realm with authority of parl^{mt}. And set forth by her highness as by not resorting to the Common prayer and devine service and not receiving the holy sacraments according to the orders prescribed by law agreable with the ordinance of Alm. God thereby seeking to breed and bring forth such sects and factions as be the very seeds and roots of sedition amongst her maj^{s}. people and loving subjects a thing besides the dishonouring of Almighty God very perilous and full of dangers to the comon quiet and peace of the country. For avoiding whereof and to the end that such disorderly persons, givers of evil example in this behalf may be known from the rest of you which do your offices and duties faithfully and diligently according to the Comm. and trust granted and reposed in you, the Queen's Maj^{y} hath hereby charged and comm^{ded} us to advertise you of [torn] and to send these letters inclosed unto you, of such a form and [torn] by the perusing whereof shall appear unto you to the intent that these letters should be returned and subscribed by the hands of so many of you as shall allow and agree to the contents thereof. For the more speed and sure execution whereof we will that forthwith you assemble yourselves together at some one place or more, as shall seem meet for this purpose, and there communicate this her Maj^{s}. order and proceed in your assembly to the execution thereof. And for due satisfaction of her Maj. you which shall willingly subscribe the same, shall advertise us not only who they be that shall in your presence refuse or forbear to subscribe the same, but shall also cause such as be absent to have knowledge thereof with charge to come to some place, and to subscribe it in the presence of some of yourselves that have subscribed. And likewise because there may be divers persons in that County of great livlyhood, who be not presently in the Commission of the peace, and yet have been in former times, the Queen's M^{s}. pleasure is that you all at your assembly for this purpose, shall by your precept in her maj. name command also all such psons to appear before you all, or before some convenient number of you which shall subscribe the said letter, and to such psons cause the contents of this her M^{s}. order to be declared willing them to subscribe the same. And hereupon her Maj further pleasure and comm^{t} is, that of so many of them, wch either be now justices of peace or heretofore at any time have seen, as thus refuse to subscribe, you shall take sufficient bond, wherein any of them being a knight shall be bound to the Queen's M. use both for the good abearing in the sum of 200£ and being an esquire in the sum of 200 Marks, and also to appear before us when soever they shall be warned to do so. And your doing in performing the premises we require you may be advertised at good length from you within XXX days after the receipt of these our letters and thereof not to fail as ye tend her Ma. pleasure. And so fare you well.

From Wyndsor, the VIth of November 1569.

Your loving friends

N. BACON G. S. W. NORTH
F. BEDFORD R.
E. CLYNTON W. HOWARD
F. KNOLLYS W. CECILL
R. SADLIR W. MILDMAY

(*Los. MSS.*, Vol. V).

This order was at once put into execution ; and the money of Catholics began to pour into the Treasury from the purses which had been slit by the royal plunderer.

The State Office Receipts tell their own tales, and testify to the staunchness of many thousands of devoted sons and daughters of the old faith. I have selected from the Loseley collection a bond made by Mr. Edward Banister, of Hants, Henry Goring, of Burton, and George Goring, for £200 penalty for Banister and £100 for Henry and George Goring for recusansy. It is clearly stated that if they should conform and give a satisfactory account of their faith to the Protestant Bishop of Winchester, before the 1st of November, in the 15th year of the reign of Elizabeth

Vol. V., Loseley.

Noverint universi p pnts nos Edwardus Banister de [blank] in Com. Southt generosum et Henricum Goring de Burton in Com. Sussex ar et Georgium Goring dein dicto Com. Sussex ar teneri et firmiter obligari Dominae nostrae Elizabeth Reginae viz. me prefatum Edwardus Banister, in ducent libris, et nos Henricum Goring et Georgium Goring et utrumque nostrum per se in cent libris bonae et legalis monetae Angliae solvendae eidem Dominae Reginae heredibus vel successsoribus suis. Ad quas quidem solutiones bene et fideliter faciendas obligamus nos et quemlibet nostrum per se heredes executores et aministratores nostros firmiter per pntes., Sigillis nostris sigillat. Dat sexto die Augusti, Anno Deae. Dnae. Reginae Elizaleth Dei gratia Angliae France et Hiberniae Reginae, Fidei Defensoris. Quinto Decimo. (1593)

The condition of this obligation is such that if the within mentioned Edward Banister do continue and remain in the house of Henry Goring and George Goring or of any of them and there do confer with such learned men as they shall think meet for him to confer withall, and also at or before the first day of November next ensuing do yield and restore himself to the prison in the White Lion where he was before the making hereof: or else in the mean while do show himself before the Reverend father Robert Bishop of Winton conformable in matters of religion according to the goodly laws of this Realme. That then this present obligation shall be void and of none effect, or else to stand, remain, and abide as full power, strength, and virtue.

I send you this copy of a bond to be made and taken by Mr. Banister and Mr. Goring.

B. W.

Endorsed B. WINCHESTER. to W. More, at Loseley.

We shall have occasion in a later chapter on "The Bruised Reeds" to show how many Catholics unfortunately became pliant under persecution.

George Goring was one of these, for we find his name appended to a letter preserved at Loseley in which he appears in the character of a persecutor.

Small wonder indeed when we see what was the test to which good Catholics were subjected.

CHAPTER IX

NON POSSUMUS

THE question might here be asked whence did all this persecution arise and for what reason? I think that it is not an erroneous answer to say that it arose from a section of the aristocracy whose chief motive was ambition and avarice.

As in the case of Henry VIII. the reason for this ruthless spoliation of Churches and Monasteries was not a love of Religion, so also in the case of Elizabeth the compelling by fines, imprisonments, torture and death of men's consciences was not zeal for the Christian Faith. Elizabeth saw in the Act of Uniformity a means of increasing her power, and she pushed it to the very utmost. This compelling of others' minds was not the wish of the people of Great Britain. It emanated from the Throne and descended thence by a system of corruption and bribery until the very soul of the people became possessed by Elizabeth and moved by her will.

It is not difficult to prove this assertion; we have so many documents amongst the Loseley collection testifying to the common revulsion against such a practice, that it were superfluous to elaborate the point, if it had not been instilled into the minds of young and old from that time to this that the change in Religion was brought about by the will of the people.

In the course of this work we shall see what difficulty the Crown had to overcome in order that it might eventually bring about uniformity in religion. On the contrary, it would seem certain that having rooted up most of the old traditions which had bound England to the Papacy, nothing remained which could be used as a principle of unification in religion. The fundamental reason why a liberty-loving people could give their unquestioning allegiance to the authority of the Pope, was that they recognised in him the Vice-regent of Jesus Christ and that they believed that he was endowed with infallibility in religious matters. It was not so difficult a matter to tear out this allegiance from the hearts of the people, as to establish in its place a like allegiance to a self-constituted head of a new religion.

The result of this religious revolution—for it merits no other name—was to establish firmly one thing only, anarchy. We have seen something of this when considering the innumerable sects that immediately sprang up in all parts of the country. Conformity brought about by repressive measures engendered Non-Conformity. Indeed, it was not only in England that we see all this to have been verified, it was the result of Protestantism wherever it was to be found. There is amongst the Loseley manuscripts a very interesting letter giving a summary of the doings of Protestants in Flanders and elsewhere. The impression left on the reader after perusing the letter is that of hopeless confusion. The letter is from Michael De Bay, dated Louvain, 22nd October, 1566, to the Rector of the University. It is in Latin. I give the translation:

> " In nearly the whole of the Lowlands so great has been the change affected in the space of a very few months, not only in faith and religion, but also in public tranquility, in obedience to the civil magistrate, in civil justice, in public intercourse and in labourers of every class and practice, that anyone who would attempt to describe it would not be believed by our descendants nor even by those foreigners who had once been witnesses of the extremely peaceful state of this country, unless perchance he should have carefully observed that impunity of crimes, which is a very serious thing in the government of a Republic and which has obtained now for some years with us, has at last culminated in those fine gentlemen who by a coined name have called themselves Geux.
>
> " For, since in April they had extorted from his highness the complete abolition of the inquisition and royal edicts against heresies, already in June many ministers of the new errors were, I know not by whom, called forth form Geneva, Metz and many other infected places. They were received by not a few cities with such welcome that as many as eighteen or fourteen thousand came to a secluded place to hear one sermon, and while in the beginning, whether as a feint or for the purpose of fostering and promoting, I know not, they seemed dormant, later having taken up arms, they openly led their preachers into the most influential cities striking terror not only into the magistracies but also into the neighbouring cities.
>
> " The result has been that of the merchants some withdrew from the markets, others had not the courage to buy anything, and all those who possessed any money clung to it owing to the dangers ahead, and thus an end should be made of all commerce and consequently of a great many handicrafts of the towns. Furthermore, as no remedy was applied to this evil, in August the fury had reached such a height that the doors of convents and churches in many towns and villages were broken open, the Sacred

Species were trod and crushed under foot. Altars were all undermined, the sacred vestments torn to shreds, images burnt and whatever served for the worship of God and the adorning of churches was broken up and smashed. The monasteries were also stript, pulled down and destroyed, and the monks expelled so that they were forced to fly in secular dress and for a long time all divine service ceased in the towns and gave place to heretical sermons; many of these towns having afterwards given up the heretical sermons, in some churches they restored the customary worship; other towns, however, such as Valenciennes and Bois-le-Duc, continued in their misery. But the cities in which was effected manifest confusion are these:

"In Flanders, Ypres, Ghent, Oudenarde, Courtrai and several others in western Flanders, the names of which escape me, with many neighbouring villages. In Brabant, Antwerp, Malines, Lièrre, Bois-le-Duc, Breda, Ludovia, Tournhout, together with many villages and Abbeys such as the Abbey of St. Michael at Antwerp, and of St. Bernard near Antwerp, Postel and several others in Campine, in the Hainaut, Valenciennes and Angia with the Abbey of Vicogne, Hanon and Crespen. In Artois, no town has suffered this confusion, as far as I know, but the Abbey of St. Augustine near Therouanne has been laid waste. In the County of Namur and the Duchy of Luxemburg, I fancy nothing has taken place. In Gueldre I hear they preach in Bommel and that everything has been smashed in Roermonde. I have not yet heard of the rest.

"Something has also been done in Friesland. In Utrecht they are preaching vigorously but I have not yet heard that they have desecrated the churches. In Maastricht the parish churches have been desecrated but five canons' churches have been defended by force of arms by the canons. In Holland everything has been laid waste. In Amsterdam, Deelst, Leyden, Vianen, Culenborg and I believe in many others; but I believe that nowhere have they done worse than at Bois-le-Duc, although at Valenciennes also things are very bad.

"On the 17th October some persons tried to break up the Altars of the most Venerable Sacrament and of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Antwerp. These were restored after a fashion in the larger Church. On this occasion while the work of destruction was being carried out, the Count de Hoogstraten and two burgomasters of the city accompanied by a military force came upon them, killing some and wounding others. They also arrested several, six of whom were publicly hanged on the following day;

all the others, ten in number, are detained in custody. This affair has given us no small hope since from the outbreak of the disturbance we have heard of scarcely any justice being done in the whole of Brabant.

" They say that the King is coming shortly but we know not whether he has yet moved a step. We understand, however, that soldiers are being enrolled in many places for the purpose of putting a stop to the rebellion against his coming. In Brussels there were not lacking those who asked for a minister of error but owing to the enrolment of soldiers they met with such resistance that they were unsuccessful.

" In Louvain we are flourishing as usual, except that we have had to sacrifice a principle for a time in that the entire clergy are in arms and take turns according to their nationality in keeping guard on account of the threats of those foreign heretics who now call themselves Gueux as in France they are called Huguenots. For, since they despaired of contaminating all the churches they threatened to set fire to the city. But praise be to God, we have suffered nothing hitherto except that for the past month we have hired out of the public purse eight soldiers whom we have allotted to the promoter, twelve whom the city has added partly to the magistrate and partly to its burgomaster, and a further two hundred soldiers of the city to relieve the clergy and citizens in their daily watches. Notwithstanding this, however, every seventh day we ourselves in equal numbers with the more honourable citizens amongst the magistrates take our turn at guarding the town hall. But the graduates and others of the same dignity together with other citizens take their posts in twos at the gates of the city to enquire and take down the names of all who enter and leave the city. I am sending the bundle so late to the Rev. Thomas because Mr. Nicolas and John Obit, through whom they should have been sent, were in Ireland up till now, whence they have returned a few days ago and they were unable to tell me anything certain of your return to the Archbishopric. I have heard nothing so far of the help that the King's Majesty is thought to have given to your countrymen for the prosecution of their studies. Indeed it is no wonder nothing should be done in the present difficult circumstances, unless the Very Rev. Conquenin should have it much at heart, which does not seem to me very likely. Mr. Richard lately bursar of our College was for a long time kept a prisoner in England and afterwards let out of gaol, since when I have heard nothing of him. I hope that your most Reverend & Illustrious Lordship has now long since returned to the Archbishopric and that you daily pour forth your devout prayers for us to God to Whom from my heart I recommend both myself and the calamity of the unfortunate republic.

" Louvain 22 October An. 1526

(To the) Most Rev. & Illustrious the Rev. Rector of the Seminary

(*Los. MSS.*, Bundle 1566). " (from) Mich. De Bay."

This letter is of melancholy interest to us now, when we consider how many of the places mentioned therein are now only a heap of ruins. What was done in Flanders and Holland was also done in England. Mob law was engineered by the Gueux abroad and by the Queen in England. There were many Catholics, however, who remained staunch and who had the courage to make a stand for the Faith. They were faced with spoliation, imprisonment, torture and death ; but they risked all this rather than barter their birthright The documents before me tell many a tale of heroic courage in the face of the most terrible adversity. And not the least encouraging of all those dark days is that which relates to the history of many of the old and wealthy families, impoverished, imprisoned and done to death for the love of a religion which they would not and could not renounce. That religion was the sole motive for their opposition to the state of things is proved by the fact that they lost everything that the world values and also by their own statements. There were many, who, preferring to avoid the horrors of confinement in loathsome dungeons and unspeakable terrors that would await them if they remained in England, fled from their country and sought hospitality in France, Spain or Italy, in order that they might there practise their religion in peace and safety. Dr. Storey was a notable example of this. He fled to Holland, but was thence trapped on to an English ship, conveyed to England, imprisoned and executed close to the spot where now stands the Marble Arch, in London.

Thomas Copley was another example of these self-exiled Englishmen for the sake of religion. In the year 1569, Copley was still in England. It had not yet become impossible for him to remain in his Mother Country, but the laws against Catholics were becoming stringent and searching ; and he, like many another, begun to feel that his friends were dangerous to him. William More and he had been on very intimate terms, but their consciences led them in opposite directions. Sir William was an official personage and his friend was obliged to give an account of his faith to him. Copley wished that More should not be put in the sad predicament of having to hand his friend over to the strong arm of the law, and on August 17th he wrote him a letter in which he declines his invitation to stay the night with him, lest Sir William should be suspected of partiality. That letter reads as follows:

"After my very hearty commendations to yourself and good Mrs. Moore, with lecke thanks for the late curtis entertainment I had at your house. These may be to let you understand that where it pleased you to wish me to come unto your house to-morrow night, as I did not then mean but to have accomplished that your gentle request, so, since upon farther advisement, I think it better otherwise. For it may be that mine adversary, seeing me to come the next morning with you and from your house, would have you in some jealousy to be perhaps somewhat favourable on my side, and thereby become less apt to be advised by you, when you should speak truth and reason unto him; whereas now, pleasing himself (as I partly perceive) with some conceipt, that you should not be very well affected toward me, whereon (I know) he growndeth more hope, than on the sufficiency of any good matter he can bring. I think it very leekly he will be willing to be ruled by you, and the more easily conceive reason at your hand. In which respect, I pray you pardon my forbearing presently to repair unto your house. Your loving and friendly mind toward me I know well enough and you (I hope) know mine toward you, which (I protest) is such, as he is not in this shire (besides them toward whom nature bindeth me) whom I do more heartily love, or better like as of one that in likeness of dispositions and affections of mind, I find so agreeable to me. (Only one thing excepted wherein liberty of conscience dutifully used, is in reason to be permitted to either of us, till God otherwise dispose of our minds and judgments) as that I could well find in my heart, to join with you some fast and enduring knot even of brotherly love firmly to continue between us and ours.

"I have sent you herewith an Italian song well set to the lute, with the dittie and treble part thereof set out by itself for the gentlewoman your daughter or your son, to sing unto the lute agreable to the rest of the parts. I think you will like it well, if you have it not already. If you have I will cause to be pricked forth songs for her which I think you have not and such as shall be well worth her travail in the learning. She and the rest of the children do so well that they are worthy to have good music put into their hands, for they will (I see) make good deiving thereof.

"I have very excellent Neapolitans of 3 parts. If Mr. Pakington can set them forth to the virginals or lute, you shall have of the best of them, with all the staves of the Italian ditties, for the young gentleman your son to sing the treble them, who, I perceive, may handle them very well. And if I have any other music or other thing that may please you or yours, you shall command it. So fare well, good Mr. More, and I pray God with all my heart to grant to you and yours, as I wish to myself and mine.

"In haste, from Gatton this 17th of August A°. 1569.

"Your assured loving friend to the best of my small power
"THOMAS COPPLEY.

"To the Right worshipful and my singular good friend Mr. William More, Esquire. With speed."

(*Los. MSS.*, Bundle of Letters, 1580).

It is strange to read these lines now that we know that these pleasant meetings had ceased for ever. If they would sing Italian melodies at Loseley, Copley shall never hear them. Exactly three months after the date of this letter, he is summoned to appear before the Council and to give reasons why he should refuse to subscribe to the Oath. His answer is as follows:—

"After right hearty commendations to you all, these may be to let you understand that, finding the matter of an assembly appointed this day very weighty, namely to such as are not thoroughly resolved in conscience that way (and myself being somewhat perplexed therewith) not in very good state of health at this present, it may please such of you as shall like to subscribe, to appoint me reasonable time to inform my conscience in that matter, and at the day and place by you appointed, according to the authority given in that behalf by the letter sent to us from the Lords of the Queen's Majesty's Privy Council. I shall, by God's grace, either with satisfied conscience, subscribe in your presence according to the purpote of the said letters, or else make unto my said Lords and others of the Privy Council such answer as shall I trust, in reason content and satisfy their honours. So heartily wishing you all well to do, I betake you to the good tuition and keeping of the Almighty. From Gatton, this 17th November A. 1569.

"Your assured friend,
"THOMAS COPLEY.

"To the right worshipful
Sir Henry Weston, knight
high Sheriff of the County of Surrey,
to the Justices of the Peace of the said County
assembled at Leatherhead and to every one of them."

(*Los.* v. ix. n. 20).

It is not always easy to see in these days how anyone of education could have been misled as to a fundamental change in religion at the time of Elizabeth. But the change was brought about with such astuteness and so gradually that many were at first quite perplexed as to what was lawful and what was unlawful. Thus at the time of which we are writing it was not altogether evident to everyone that mere bodily presence at a Protestant service was wrong, especially if that attendance was forced. And so in a good many cases deliberation became necessary, in others we see marked hesitation, while finally a great many temporized, hoping against hope for better times. We must remember how difficult it was for Catholics to confer on such matters, more difficult still for them to seek the advice of Catholic theologians and almost impossible that there should be anything in the nature of a Provincial Synod or Council. We are not, therefore, surprised to find men of the fortune and learning of Thomas Copley, asking for time to consider their position ; but when the case had been seriously thought out, there was no doubt left in the mind. Copley's defence as we find it amongst the Loseley manuscripts, is illuminating.

> " After my right hearty commendations to you all. For that the true knowledge how God should be served, and the true order of the Administration of the Sacraments was known, practised, and established in the Church of God long before the Act of Parliament was made whereunto I should now subscribe and that the referring as it were of the original and true setting forth thereof, to the said Act so lately made, should seem a great derogation to the Christian faith, and a great slandour and discredit to the Church of God, that the same should be so many ages either ignorant how God should be served, or a false teacher of his people (which cannot be, since the Apostle saith that the same is columna et firmamentum veritatis), and because without a faithless mistrust in God it may not (in my opinion) in word or thought be doubted, that God (who being Truth itself) and promising that He would be with his Church, not after fifteen hundred years only, but omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem saeculi, by all days to the world's end, and to instruct the same into all truth, which words admit no intermission, would contrary to that His divine promise, suffer such long and general error and blindness in his Church as is by some imagined. For these and divers other great causes (too many in a letter to be rehearsed unto you), I cannot yet by any search find sufficient matter to persuade me with safe conscience to that which is at this present required of me, amongst others, I see the

great danger of displeasure, restraint and much hindrance and trouble, that is like hereby to grow unto one without the great mercy and favour of my lords of the privy Council. Neither am I so senseless or stony but that I feel the grief thereof, and gladly would avoid the same and do with all my heart as others do, being I know much wiser than myself, if I could do it without fear of danger and by offense of God and my conscience, not being persuaded in this point as some others perhaps be. Whereof I most instantly require you all, if it may be, to grant me longer respit for the informing of my conscience in this case. If you cannot so do, then for my excuse of my not subscribing at this present to send up even this my letter to my Lords and others of the privy Council, whose honours I trust will, of their great mercy and goodness, have favourable consideration of this my doing, not proceeding (I protest before God), of any obstinacy but only of mere fear to offend my conscience. And farther that I might find this much favour and friendship at your hands as that you would be contented for neighbourhood to afford herewithall to my said Lords a few favourable lines from yourselves in the favour of me your poor neighbour and loving friend, which I doubt not should procure me more grace at their Lordships' hands in this behalf than any mine own private suite can do. In which your friendly doing, as by your charitable companion therein appearing of your neighbour's affliction, you should singularly please God and avoid from yourselves and others the danger which the Apostle admonisheth you of in these words, 'Peritur infirmus in tua conscientia frater propter quem Christus mortuus etc.; sic autem peccatis in fratres et percutientes conscientiam coram infirmorum in Christum,' which sinning against Christ were, as you see, dangerous to such as should urge me to the offence of my conscience in this case. So shall I herein have cause to acknowledge myself much beholding to you all in general, and especially to such of you in particular as I shall understand to be furtherers of this my reasonable suite. As knoweth the Almighty, of whom I heartily wish unto you all the love, fear, and true knowledge of Him, with prosperous success in all your worldly affairs to his honour. XXIII. of November 1569:

"Your loving neighbour and assured poor friend,
THO. COPPLEY.

"To S^{r}. Henry Weston, knight, high sheriff of the Co. of Surrey, and to the Justices of the peace of the said Shire assembled at Dorking, and to every of them." (*Los. MSS.*, Vol. IX., n. 19).

From this it is clear that what was uppermost in the mind of Copley was the scandal that would be given by assisting, even materially only, at heretical services. He never stayed to meet the Magistrates, but fled to France, where he ended his days.

We must remember that for a period of thirty-one years, with a short respite of five years in Mary's reign, England had been deprived of the teaching of Catholic priests, and on the other hand, erroneous doctrines had been spread broadcast by the so-called reformers. Thus it was no wonder if even educated people were sometimes fogged by specious arguments and difficult situations. The supply of priests, which had been cut off by the Penal Laws, had not yet been remedied. The Marian Clergy had been very nearly all swept away into imprisonment or banishment, and the students from abroad had not yet begun to flow into England. What will make the matter more intelligible is the fact that the very difficulty was felt for years after Copley had written this letter, and that although from time to time the Pope had expressed the mind of the Church on this matter, we find yet one more decision emanating from Rome twenty-three years later.

It will interest the reader to see the document wherein this decision was contained. I have copied it from the original in the Public Record Office. It is a letter from Cardinal Allen to the Catholics in England. It runs as follows :—

The Indorsement.

"Charissimis in Anglia fratribus Londini vel alibi.

> "My dearest brethren and children, whom I love in the very bowels of Christ. As the excessive troubles and pains and perils that you suffer daily and hourly in that extreme heat of persecution, gave me continual sorrow of mind, with all possible compassion, yea truly with incessant desire at our Merciful Lord's hands, that I might deliver if it were possible and so pleased His divine Majesty, you and your afflicted children with an hundred deaths and lives of mine own. So on the other side the daily intelligence and consideration of your notable patience and constancy and fruitful labours in that harvest giveth me in manner equivalent comfort and consolation ; with hope in God's goodness, that we shall ere it be long, see an end of all those miseries and Christ and the Church's enemies brought to confusion. Our Brothers' blood makes forcible instance for the same from the earth, and their souls from heaven with no less efficacy crieth out for the same. Doubt ye not my most sweet

and faithful coadjutors and true confessors that our adversaries' iniquities are now in God's sight near accomplished and at the height. On the contrary side, the numbers of our Brethren that are to suffer for His truth is near made up, and shortly to receive, not only in the next, but in this world, the worthy fruits of their happy labours. God Almighty and All-merciful will not suffer long the rod of the wicked to lie so heavily upon the lot of the Just, neither let us be tempted more than by His Grace we shall be able to bear, but will shorten these days of affliction for the elect's sake. Comfort yourselves herein, my loving fellows, and in the most Christian and glorious cause that ever God's priests or people suffered in. We are ashamed here to sit ad sarcinas, and see you in the fight and so bloody a combat, and we account your cause a thousand times more happy and more meritorious than ours. But this is God's ordinance and disposition of all our actions and persons differently according to His will and wisdom. And we that by His appointment stay yet here may in good time have our turn, and in the meantime we succour you and the cause with prayers, sacrifice, tears, sighs and groans from the bottom of our hearts and with continual instance to God and man for some relief of your miseries. Thus much I write for my own comfort and yours and to discharge my heart of the daily sorrows care and solicitude I have over you and your afflicted flock, requiring you to whom these my letters may come to make all good Catholics partakers of the same and of my infinite desire I have to serve them even with my life, expecting continually good occasion to effectuate and accomplish that which you and they most desire. And having this commodity of writing, cannot but require and advertise you, my loving Brethren that be Priests of this one thing that I would have you use great compassion and mercifulness towards such of the Layty especially as for mere fear or saving of their family, wife and children from ruins are so far only fallen as to come sometimes to their Churches or be present at the time of their service, for though it be not lawful to do so much nor in itself any ways excusable, yet such necessity in that kind of men maketh the offence less and more compassionable, yea and more easily by you to be absolved. And therefore be not hard nor rough nor rigorous nor morose in receiving again and absolving them when they confess their infirmities and be sorry for the same, and yield some reasonable hope that they will hereafter stand more strongly or have hope to have mean to escape and not to be led into the like temptation by any moral shifts, which they may find and which the circumstances of the time by ceasing of the persecution or otherwise may bring; which mercy you must use though they fall more than once, and though perhaps you have some probable fear that they will of like infirmity fall again whereof yet we cannot be assured because God may give them more strength wherein no more severity is to be required of the penitent than in any other sins that be subject to the Sacrament of Penance, and perhaps all circumstances well and discretely weighed. In all which matters that cannot be so well subjected to certain rules you must use much wisdom, much charity and be assured that in most cases of this kind tutior est via misericordiae quam justitiae rigoris. Sed Deus dabit nobis intellectum in omnibus. Yet on the other side, you and all my brethren must have great regard that you teach not nor defend that it is lawful to communicate with the protestants in their prayers or service, or conventicles where they meet to minister their untrue sacraments; for this is contrary to the practice of the Church and of the holy Doctors in all ages; who never communicated or allowed in any Catholic person, to pray together with Arians, Donatists, or what other soever. Neither is it positive law of the Church, for so it might be dispensed withall upon some occasion, but it is denied of God's own eternal law, as by many evident arguments I could convince and it hath been largely proved in sundry treatises in our own tongue, and we have practised from the beginning of our miseries. And lest either any of my Brethren might either mistrust my judgment, or be not satisfied by such proofs as have been made therein, or myself beguiled therein in my own conceipt, I thought only to take the opinion of the best learned devines here, but to make all sure, I have demanded the Pope's Holiness that now is his sentence, who expressly told me that to participate with the Protestants either by prayering with them or coming to their Churches or service or such like, was by no means lawful or dispensable, but added withall that such as of fear and weakness or other temporal force or necessity should do it, ought to be gently dealt withall and be easily absolved as beforesaid. This is his Holiness's express will and mine opinion, in which I desire all my loving followers to agree ut non sint in vobis schismata. And if any there which cannot quiet his mind in the matter, send me word, and I will take the pains to treat of the matter at large that they may see their error. In the meantime I hope this may serve for some taste of my loving meaning towards you all, and especially of the continual care I have that you be unanimes in Domino.

Remember me your loving father in Christ as you be all printed in my very heart. Fare you well my sweet children.

" Rome this XIIth of December 1592
" By the hand of your dearest
" W^{M} A. CARD^{N}

" It is notified also by certain intelligence unto all Priests that his Holiness being mindful of their Labours for God's church and benefit of their country, sendeth them a Jubilee of within three months after notice had they make a general Confession either of their whole life, or of the time past since their last general confession which happily they may have made. No other condition is intended, therefore it belongeth to everyone's devotion to prepare himself for such benefit as he shall think most effectual.

" Also that those who by his Holiness's immediate grant may admit into the society of the Rosary may do the same without any limitation of a particular altar but that the plenary indulgence the first admission may be received wheresoever.

" And that there needeth no writing of names at all but only a bare admission without solemnity."

(*State Papers*, Vol. 243, n. 30).

CHAPTER X

BRUISED REEDS

THUS did Catholics live in hopes of brighter days, trusting in Divine Providence; but these days were to be delayed for centuries to come. Many were the trials that came to test the strength of faith and we must admit that the vast majority succumbed. There were those who clung to the old Faith but had not the courage to face the awful consequences of uncompromising fidelity and so they stretched their consciences almost to breaking point, while not infrequently using the liberty they thus secured for the benefit of the Catholic cause. The letter from Cardinal Allen, given above, shows that the Church never countenanced such action. A notable instance of this weak-kneed fidelity was that of the Earl of Southampton. It is clear that he had in some extraordinary manner satisfied himself that mere common prayer according to the Service Book was not prohibited by any principles of religion. At the same time he seems at first to have had the determination to remain staunch to the old Church; in fact he remained in honourable confinement for three years, rather than subscribe to the Articles of Religion. But although most of his confinement was passed under the guard of his friend and in the most comfortable apartments of Loseley, this seclusion gradually worked upon him and he gave way. But it would seem that he never became convinced of the principles of the Reformation. It was the submission of one who was afraid to do anything else.

The documents before us show him first of all in charge of Mr. Becher in London; but plague was ravaging the district and it became necessary to move him to more healthy surroundings. No doubt this was owing to influence which was not lacking to the noble Earl. It was in this house, however, that the Earl had already shown a tendency to submit, for he had come to the common prayer. Probably, therefore, hopes were entertained at this early period that he would give way. The first letter that we see in the Loseley Collection was written when it was decided to remove him to the charge of Sir William More; it runs as follows:—

> "Aft. o. harty Com. Whereas upon some occasion the Queen's maj. did of late appoint that the Earl of Southampton should be committed into the custody of Mr. Becher Alderman of Lon.

Forasmuch as her Maj. is not yet resolved upon his full liberty, and yet understanding that the infection of the plague is somewhat near unto the said Alderman's house, and that the said Earl is not in very good disposition of health whereof her highness is careful, hath therefore gratiously accorded that the said Earl shall be removed from the said Alderman Becher's house and custody and shall remain with you under your charge. We have therefore (agreable to her Maj's pleasure herein) thought good to require you to repair to Mr. Becher in Lon. and require of him to have the saide Earl to be delivered unto you, for which purpose there is a letter written unto him. And then to convey the said Earl unto your house by Guildford, and there to remain under your charge until her Maj. shall be pleased to determine for his further liberty.

"And for the manner how you shall keep him the same is meant shall be in such sort as he is now with Mr. Becher, that is, to have one or two servants to attend upon him in his chamber without further conference with any other. And further as you shall learn of Mr. Becher to have been proscribed unto him. Which order we pray you to observe. And so fare ye heartily well. From Oteland the 15th of July, 1570.

"Your loving friends,

"F. KNOLLYS. FRANCIS CROFT. W. CECILL. R. LEYCESTER. E. CLYNTON. W. HOWARD.

"*Postcript.* It is meant that the expence of the said Earl shall be at his own charge.

"To o^r^ very loving Friend William More, Esquire."

(*Los.* IV. n. 3.)

From this it is clear that his residence in both places of detention at first, was made as comfortable as possible, as he was allowed to keep two of his own servants. This was quite a general practice at the time for prisoners of his station in life; at least in the first months of their captivity. We are not surprised to find that the Earl, while announcing his advent to his friend, expresses some dissatisfaction at his enforced visit.

"Mr. More after my right hearty commendations I have by this bearer my servant sent unto you the Council's letters, whereby you shall perceive that I am appointed to continue with you for a time. I assure you your guest cometh with no very good will as having rather to be at my new house if it so pleased them. But since it is their pleasure otherwise, I am glad they have placed me with so honest a gentleman and friend.

And so desiring you to come to-morrow that I were out of the town I bid you farewell.

"With hearty commendations to your wife. From London the 16th of July, 1570.

"Your loving friend,
"H. SOUTHAMPTON.

"To very loving friend
Mr. More give this." (*Los.* Vol. IV. n. 4.)

On the same day Sir William More received the Alderman's letter officially informing him of the removal of his prisoner. It is interesting to note that Southampton is provided with an equipage from his own stables.

"By this bearer ye shall receive the Right Honourable the lords of the Council letter signifying to you the Queen's Maj's pleasure and theirs concerning the Earl of Southampton for to be with you for a little time as I well hope, these few lines I write to advertise you that, God be thanked, our parish is clearer and any that are near adjoining, but yet the last week being increased 24 persons in London of the plague my said lord was much desirous to be out of the city and the Queen's Maj .and Council having a care for him hath appointed as aforesaid and at your coming I shall enlarge to you the further pleasures when ye come as My Lord doth hope ye will to-morrow to be gone on Tuesday if it may please you to set your house at Lambeth where my L. of Southampton's horses are ready evye so with my very hearty Comm^{s}. I bid you fare well. From my house in London this Sunday morning the 16th of July, 1570.

"Yours to command,
"HARRY BECHER.

"To the worshipful his beloved friend
Mr. More, Near Guildford." (*Los.* Vol. IV. n. 5.)

We now hear of a Lord Montague of Cowdray. This man was brother-in-law to the Earl of Southampton; he also was a secret Catholic. He was of a very remarkable family, descended from an Anthony Browne, who was Standard Bearer in the time of Henry VII. The writer of the following letters was a Sir Anthony Browne, and created Lord Montague by Queen Mary. He was one of Mary's Privy Council, and his son, Anthony, died before him. It is a family with many Catholic connections. A grandson, William Browne, of Lord Montague became a lay brother in the Society of Jesus; and a Sir Anthony Browne of Elsing, Norfolk, was also of this family. He was a secret recusant, although a Magistrate. The family had many ramifications and the tree is a large one. We find the name of Browne repeated frequently in the lists of recusants indicted and convicted, which are kept at Loseley. Many of the Brownes undoubtedly suffered much for their faith. Francis Browne, for instance, and his wife Joan, are mentioned in the lists as suffering fines and long terms of imprisonment. But Lord Montague was not of this category. The following letter to Sir William More evinces a very natural anxiety for Southampton.

> "With my hearty commend^s. Understand yesterday night from my daughter that the state of my L of Southampton with you is but as before with Mr. Bercher. I thought it my part, after his so many days abode there, to send to you, as well that his L. may understand my care and desire to hear of his health as also to know whether his L. would any thing further to be by me done in his behalf. And so I wish you heartily well to do. From my house at Cowdrey the 24th of July, 1570.
>
> "Your loving friend,
> "Anthony Montague.
>
> "I would sooner have sent to my L. saving that I thought I should have heard (before this) from you, the state and manner of his committy unto you.
>
> "To my loving friend
> Mr. Wm. Moore Esquire." (*Los*. Vol. IV. n. 6.)

Showing his feverish anxiety he sends yet another letter to Sir William More, which was as follows :—

> "S^r. I received a letter by the suffering for my L. of Southampton so send I one other to his L. open and by you to be either delivered or staid. I think long to hear of his delivery. And now am willing his L. should be near where I mean to be this week to spend.
>
> "And thus with my hearty comm^s. I bid you heartily farewell. From my house at Cowdrey the 6th August 1570.
>
> "Your loving friend,
> "Anthony Montague.
>
> "To my loving friend,
> "Mr. Wm. Moore, Esquire." (*Los*. Vol. IV. n. 7.)

Soon More found it irksome to have the charge of Southampton; he was in fact his jailer and the irksomeness of this office was increased by the fact that he was never relieved of duty. It is therefore quite natural that Sir William should do all he possibly could to escape from his task. Thus the following letter from a Member of the Council was written with the object of shifting the responsibility.

> "I have received your letter of the 8th of this present wherein you write that you went to the court at Osterley to make humble suite unto my Lords of the Privy Coun. to be discharged of keeping the Earl of South., committed unto you by them. In very deed when the matter was first moved at the Coun. boards, I spake in your behalf what I could that he might not come unto you, but my words prevailed not. My will was good at that time as it shall be always if it may stand you in stead. And where you write that the Earl being with you is a restraint of your liberty, so as you can neither visit me (being in the country) nor yet travel for the execution of the Commission which I sent to Mr. Onslowe and Mr. Browne. For your good will to visit me, I do most heartily thank you and do accept your good will therein as much as if you had taken the travel upon yourself. For the execution of the said Commission, although your presence might further them; yet having such occasion, you may be very well spared the rather for that there are others sufficient to perform the Queen's Majesty's expectations in that behalf.
>
> "Touching the continual keeping of your house as well as to avoid all conference with him out of your hearing, as to see those letters which he doth receive or doth send. Therein you do very well, for in those two points doth consist the greatest part of your charge. I think you shall not greatly need to fear his departure from you, he knoweth too well, the benefit that groweth to her Majesty thereby. Thus with my hearty comm^{s}. I bid you fare well. At Blechingle this 9th of August 1570.
>
> "Your l. friend
>
> "W. HOWARD.
>
> "I would you would cause the rest of the commissioners to write unto what they have already done touching the same commission.
>
> "To my very loving friend Mr. William Moore
> "one of the Justices of peace. Surrey." (*Los.* Vol. IV. n. 8.)

As we have seen, there were many inconveniences for More in consequence of this captivity of the Earl. Amongst others the plague had by now spread to the counties and More was nervous of its coming to his house. It is evident that he was in no way pleased with Sir Harry Becher for shifting the responsibility of his unwelcome guest to Loseley, and he darkly hinted at some Machiavelian dealings in the Alderman's efforts to this end.

Sir Harry writes the following epistle to justify his action.

"May it please your worship that I may advertise the same now having occasion to send my present through Guildford thought rather for good reasons than of necessity to write to my L. of South. and not so to do but that I would your worship should be privy thereof for the which purpose I have inclosed his L. letter herein. And truth it is I wrote to the Honourable Lords of the C. before my said L. departure from me that the sickness was then and at that present incroached near to my house then of long time before that it had been the wish was through being in Cornell and Lombert Street where you 5 months before no sickness of plague had been neither then nor in no other place so near. Ever since I received their own letters that your worship shall have my said L. from me, whereof I was glad for that I saw his L. so fearful of the sickness that he was with fear much disquieted. When I wrote your worship to put you out of fear in coming for his Lordship that from the 3 Cranes to my house the way was clear and the parish alleys where I did dwell and all other places very near adjoining to my house, the which was true and so was my letter also to the Hon. Council. Although might seem something repugnant the one to the other, but yet in substance very true; for as I wrote their honours the sickness was incroached near to my house at that instant yet was it not so near but that I wrote your worship was true also. Although I have heard my writing had been otherwise somaried but I trust your worship doth not take in ill part any thing of the matter and so I pray you not to do. I am very sorry to hear of so great sickness spread abroad in the Counties generally in Essex, Kent, Sussex, and Sothern special near to London, Middlesex and Harefordshire are not clear. God keep you and yours and all your parts from the said sickness being a burning ague but such as God be thanked very few doth die thereof even so. With my very hearty commendations I take leave.

"Written from my house in London the 14th day of August 1570.

"Yours most assured
"Harry Becher.

"To the Right Worshipful
"his good friend Mr. More, Near Guildford, give." (*Los.* IV. n. 9.)

What different motives lead to acts of kindness! Not able to rid himself of his prisoner, More strives for his "enlargement" and to this end he plots with Montague. Undoubtedly the motive that is given is More's love for the Earl and zeal for the Queen. Montague falls in with the objects of More, as indeed we should expect he would; and he thus writes his appreciation to his friend:

> "With my right hearty comm^{s}. I have perceived as well by your letter to me as the copy of yours to my L. of Leycester the care and desire you have to do my L. of South. good and procure his L. enlargement. For the which as I am to give you my right hearty thanks, so trust I, you will both friendly and faithfully labour the end of the same which both my L. and I for him must in honesty and reason always remember and seek to requite as we shall now find cause in this his trouble.
>
> "Thus I bid you heartily farewell. From my house at Cowdray the 5th of September 1570.
>
> "Your loving friend
>
> "ANTHONY MONTAGUE.
>
> "To my loving friend Mr. Wm. Moore Esquire." (*Los.* IV. n. 10.)

But, as we have seen in an earlier chapter, all are not friends of More at Court. The noble Cecil is at hand. What game he may now be playing under the eye of his Queenly patron we cannot say. His noted zeal for the Queen's Majesty presents difficulties, and Southampton should give a proof of his submission.

A pursuivant is sent with a letter from the Council. What oral message this pursuivant is charged with we are not told. But we can be quite certain that Cecil gave him plainly to understand that he should have his eyes about him and then that he should report anything worth knowing. The letter itself is very short. (*Los.* Vol. IV. n. 11.)

> "After our very hearty comm^{s}. We have thought meet for good considerations to require you to signify unto us by your private letter, whether the E. of S., presently remaining in your house, do come to common prayer or not, and in case he have not so done already, then we require you as of yourself to move and persuade him thereunto and of that he shall do or hath done and shall answer thereupon we pray you to advertise us with convenient speed. And so we bid you fare well.
>
> "From Windsor the 23rd October, 1570.
>
> "Your loving friends.
>
> "W. NORTH. F. BEDFORD. R. LEYCESTER. W. HOWARD.
> "F. KNOLLYS. JAMES CROFTS. W. CECILL. WA. MILDMAY."
> "To our very loving friend William Moore Esquire."

The above circumstance was speedily reported to Lord Montague at Cowdray, probably by one of Somerset's servants. It gave him cause for great anxiety and he feared it boded no good to his kinsman. Accordingly he at once sent a messenger to Loseley with the following letter :— (*Los.* Vol. IV. n. 12.)

> " With my hearty comm^s. I cannot a little marvel that my L. of South. having dealt and written as lately you know he hath no resolution followeth of his release. I fear a persuivant was with you with letters touching him, whether of good or no, I I know not more than that by the message my daughter had cause to hope the best. If there appeared to you no likelihood of his discharge, I pray you send me word by this bearer what you think to the end his wife may stay no longer, but for discharge of her duty. I make suite as she may. I trust and make myself assured he hath not and doth not want the best means to further him. And so bid you heartily farewell. From my house at Cowdrey this last of October 1570.
>
> " Your loving friend
> " ANTHONY MONTAGUE.
>
> " To my loving friend Mr. Wm. Moore, Esquire.

As a result of the pursuivant's visit to Loseley the Earl was summoned to the Council in order that he might there be questioned and dealt with. The order was peremptory.

> " After our heaty com^s. These be to signify unto you that the Queen's Maj's pleasure is you shall cause the E. of S. to be brought unto Kingston by tomorrow night at the farthest, so that he may be before us of her Highness's Council on Monday in the morning to the end that we may take such order with him as her Majesty hath appointed. And so fare you well. From Hampton Court the 6th of November 1570.
>
> " Your loving friends
> " R. LEYCESTER.
> " N. CECILL.
>
> " To or. very loving friend William More Esquire."
> (*Los.* Vol. IV. n. 13.)

I have not been able to find any report of the proceedings at Kingston on that date. It is clear that Cecill was determined to cause as much inconvenience to More as possible. The Earl's answers we suppose were not satisfactory. He must still have shown some backbone, for we hear no more of the matter till three years after.

In 1573 More once again attempts to be released from his task—a task which has worked admirably in making a close prisoner of the jailer himself. More has learnt, even in this his old age, how to treat with respect the favourites that dwell at Greenwich. He knows who it is that bars his way to perfect enjoyment. To Cecill, therefore, he appeals: he makes his humble suite to this all-powerful Minister. The matter has been maturely considered; it is of great moment to him. He writes a rough copy of two letters, one is for Cecill alone, the other for the whole Council. It is these rough copies that are kept at Loseley.

> "Mr. Secretary. My duty unto your honour remembered. For as much as the E. of S. hath of long time remained in my charge whereby I have been inforced ever since not to depart from my house, what occasion of business soever I had, and am driven still to continue in that order on letters by your honour's good means I may be relieved thereof I am bold now to be an humble suitor to you therein that by your help I may be delivered of this my charge.
> "To Mr. Secretary Cecill for the E. of S. [No date.]"
>
> (*Los*. Vol. IV. n. 14.)

That is the first letter for Mr. Secretary only, it is evidently a personal appeal. The following sets forth at greater length reasons which will appeal to the Council assembled. In the foregoing it was only necessary to satisfy Cecill that More had suffered sufficiently. We give the letter, as it was read in Council:—

> "To the LL of the Council—My duty unto your honourable L. humbly remembered. It may please the same to be advertised immediately after the E. of S. came into my charge I signified unto him that usually I had common prayer twice every day in my house at the which I would wish his L. to be. Whereunto he answered me, that since he was restrained of his liberty in my house he had no disposition to come out of his chamber to prayer, but privately to occupy himself there in prayer, thinking it to be no great difference to do the one or the other. And therefore desired me to think that he did not absent himself from the same as of one that contemned the service for not only he had usually common prayer in his own house, but also at his being the Court he did there frequent the same, and so requested me therewith to be satisfied. Within short time after I declared unto him that since through his remaining with me I was inforced so to keep home as I nor my family could be at any service abroad, I did determine to have one well learned

to instruct them one day in my house, of the which I thought better to give him knowledge, before, than upon the sudden to move him to come unto the same.

"He answered me that since I was so determined, he would willingly be by; and so, at the time appointed, he came and stayed the service, from the beginning to the end; and lately I again declared to his Lor. that I minded to do another service in my house, to which he said he would willingly hear whensoever I would. And now according to your L. command, signified unto me by your letters, I eversince moved him to come unto the common prayer, using such persuations as I could to lead him thereunto. Whereunto he answered me that he had absented himself from the service for no other respect than before declared, and that since I did so earnestly urge him thereunto he would willingly be present at it, and so came that day into parlour where common prayer was present at the service.

"To the Lords of the Councel
"for the Earl of South." (*Los.* Vol. IV. n. 15.)

Mr. Cecill was evidently partly softened. He took some steps and answered not altogether unhopefully; so Sir William drafted yet one more letter to be sent post haste to the Earl of Leicester. It runs as follows:—

"My duty unto y^{r}. hon. L. remembered. It may please the same to be advertised that my L. of S. says he had understand what success the earnest suite of your L. and of others, lately had to the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty for his enlargement, is fallen into that heaviness and pensiveness of mind as that I fear it will either breed in him some present sickness or some great inconvenience hereafter. I have used the best persuasions I can to stay him from the same but it little prevaileth, and his answer is, it albeit his restraint of liberty is very painful unto him, because he doubteth the same to be such discomfort to my Lady his wife as may be to her great harm; yet the indignation and displeasure of her highness, which, he thinketh, vehemently conceived against him, because he saith his friend's earnest labour unto her grace in his behalf can take no better place, doth so far pass the other in grief of mind unto him as that his life seemeth to him very tedious.* Of which I thought it my duty to advertise your L. because I perceive his hope of qualification of

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* And yet contentedly submitting himself to that straight edge prescribed by your L. and others of her Grace's most honourable privy Counsel unto me.

> the queen's Maj. displeasure against him resteth chiefly in you, by whose good care if he may effect the same it shall not only be greatly to his comfort but also bind him in honour to be at yr. commandment during his life.
>
> *Indorsed.* To the Right Worshipful and my very friend Mr. Robert Cresinell, Esquire. [The Earl of Leycester ?] For the keeping of the said L. of S. show of.
>
> (*Los.* Vol. IV. n. 15.)

Things are moving. What is moving, then, we wonder ? In those days when the *mancia* was so powerful—we almost suspect. But the thing must be done gently. Southampton has come to common prayer. Consequently that has made it easier. Further he is " fallen into that heaviness and pensiveness of mind as there is fear it will either breed in him some present sickness or some great inconvenience hereafter." Hence his health is seriously jeopardised. The Council seemed greatly mollified. He may call on his mother, so says Burghley in the following letter to More :—

> " After my hearty coms. These are to let you understand that the Q. Maj. is well contented and pleased that the E. of S. may repair unto my Lady his mother in your company at such times as he shall require, or my said Lady shall desire the same during the time of her Ladyship's sickness. So fare you heartily well. From the Court the 3rd of May 1573.
>
> " Your loving friend
> " W. BURGHLEY.
>
> " To my loving friend
> " Mr. More esquire." (*Los.* Vol. IV. n. 16.)

Now the whole Council takes cognisance of the submission of the Earl and gives its sanction to a little more liberty. Note, however, that More must still be in attendance, whether the Earl visit " my Lady his wife," or go sometimes abroad for " taking the air," or " repair sometimes to an house of his in Wapping, which now is in building."

> " After our hearty coms. Whereas upon the honourable submission of the E. of S. the Qus. Maj.' gracious pleasure was, that he should be set at more liberty, her highness hath made special choice of you with whom he might for the time remain, till some further order be taken, which we have thought good to signify unto you, desiring you as well to permit unto him the access of my Lady his wife, his other friends and servants, which

shall repair unto him, as otherwise suffer him to go some times abroad with them, for taking the air, so that it be with your liking, and in your company. And hereby we mind not to charge you in any respect with his diet, or otherwise in any sort, but that he either bear them himself, or see you well satisfied and contented, as to his estate and in right appartaineth. And for that he hath desired to have liberty to repair sometimes to an house of his in Wapping, which now is in building; her Maj. is very well pleased that he may now and then do so, so that it be in your presence and company, and that he return to your house the same night again.

"And so desiring you hereof not to fail, we will you right heartily fare well. From the Star Chamber the fifth of May 1573.

"Your loving friends
"W. Burghley. E. Lyncoln. T. Sussex. R. Leycester.
"T. Smith. R. Sadler. WA. Mildmay.
"To or. loving friend Mr. Moore." (*Los.* Vol. IV. n. 17.)

Two months later More is made once more to feel a free man. His guest prisoner is to be given in charge of his father-in-law—not yet, however, to be in complete enjoyment of liberty. But it is the preliminary to emancipation.

The Lords of the Council write as follows to Southampton:—

"After o. h. coms. to your L. the Queen's Maj. is well pleased and contented that you shall remain at Cowdray with our very good the Viscount Montague, your father-in-law. And further at your and your friend's earnest request is also contented that your Lordship may repair to your house which is building in such sort as you did when you were at Mr. More's provided always that by reason of the distance of the places, ye cannot well return in one day, ye do not by this permission remain there above one night, till her Maj's farther pleasure shall be known to the contrary. And this shall be your L. and Mr. More's sufficient warrant on that behalf. And so we bid you right heartily fare well. From Greenwich the 14th of July 1573.

"Your loving friends
"W. Burghley. T. Sussex. F. Bedford.
R. Leycester. F. Knollys. T. Smyth.
"To or very good Lord the
E. of South."

"This is the true copy of her Majesty's Councel's letter to me directed.

(*Los.* Vol. IV. n. 18.) "W. Southampton."

What wonder that Southampton should be grateful to his erst while jailer. He is beholden to him for much; nay, both More and his wife have been the Earl's friends and saved him from ruin. What manner of counsellor Lady More has been to her husband in all these circumstances we may imagine. The Earl's wife writes as follows to Lady More:—

> "Good Mrs. More, I send this bearer to bring me word from you how my little mall came unto you and how she hath past the greater part of her very journey. I doubt not of your over great care of her while she rests in your hands. My only desire is to hear of her safe coming unto you, when she hath rested with you an whole day I pray you let her be sent hence not so far in any place till she come to me. My L. my father and my L. also do look for her tomorrow if she came try on yester night if not till this night, then try on Saturday at the farthest. I send your good husband and you ten MI commendations with no less thanks for all the great courtesties which for my part I acknowledge myself to have received at your hand for the which I rest your debtor, ready in good will to requite it when any occasion shall be offered. Farewell Mrs. More with all my heart this I present Thursday.
>
> "Your assured loving friend
> "W. SOUTHAMPTON.
>
> "My L. sends his most hearty commends. unto your husband and you, and would himself have written unto him but this night he hath been very sick and is now a bed not well. Good Mrs. Polsted I must not forget to salute in most hearty manner and do wish me with you every day an hour or two.
>
> "To my very friend Mrs. More
> at Loseley—give this." (*Los.* Vol. IV. n. 19.)

The Earl's gratitude may well be conceived. However a happy event has taken place at Cowdray; it is announced at once to Loseley in the following terms:—

> "After my most hearty comms. both to you and to your good wife, although it is so happed by the sudden sickness of my wife we could not by possibility have her present as we desired, yet have I thought good to impart unto you such comfort as God hath sent me after all my long troubles, which is that this present morning, at 3 of the clock, my wife was delivered of a goodly boy (God bless him) the which, although it was not without great peril to them both for the present, yet now, I

thank God, both in good state. If your wife will take the pains to visit her we shall be mighty glad of her company. And so with my hearty comms. to your son Polsted and his wife, and to good Mr. Soundar, if he be with you, I end for this time, bidding you heartily farewell. From Cowdray, this present Tuesday 1573.

"Your assured friend
"H. SOUTHAMPTON.

"To my assured friend
Mr. William More, Esquire, Losly, give this."
(*Los.* Vol. IV. n. 20.)

This goodly boy was Shakespeare's Adonis, the Earl was the great patron of the poet and his close friend.

The joy-bells are set ringing. Liberty at last. The Earl journeys abroad—but in the company of his father-in-law.

"Although I have lately divers ways pestered your house yet since your bequest is so I mind (God willing) with my wife to be with you in our journey towards London on Tuesday next ensuing and my brother Anthony Browne and his wife in my company, my Lord Montague upon the occasion not journeying with us. And so with my very hearty comms. to your good wife and yourself, I bid you right heartily farewell. From Cowdry, the first of November 1573.

"Your assured friend
"W. SOUTHAMPTON.

"I pray you recomemnd me heartily to your son and daughter Polsted and to good Mr. Soundar and also that you will do so much as send for your glasier and tell him that now I am ready for him at Dogmersfield and if he cannot presently serve my turn I must provide some other for that some part of my house must be forthwith glased before the frost, and my glass and all other things are there ready.

"To my loving friend Mr. William More,
Esquire, give these at Losley." (*Los.* Vol. IV. n. 21.)

The last of the letters dealing with this imprisonment announces to us the end of sufferings—slight though they were—for the noblest of causes. Southampton is free. But what is the value of that freedom ? The mind is now more chained, the will more tortured than it could have been in dungeons or iron fetters. It stands to reason that the convictions of a lifetime were not changed by mere external compulsion. We do not read of a single argument that could affect the mind. Hence time alone could obliterate the memories of lessons learnt in early childhood; and we know that the sympathies of these families remained always Catholic. It must not be imagined that the Catholic Church encouraged her children, under any circumstances, while remaining secretly of the fold to practise publicly the religion of the State. True, indeed, priests said Mass at Cowdray and in Southampton House; true, priest hunts were often made in these places; true, also, Catholics congregated there in the silent hours of early dawn for the Divine Sacrifice; but never could either Lord Montague or the Earl of Southampton communicate with the faithful there assembled; never could they receive absolution as long as they persisted in the overt act of apostacy.

How many thousands of such bruised reeds were there in England at that time? We know of great numbers. The wealthy Catholics were able for a time to put off the period when they should have to make complete sacrifice of all they possessed rather than betray their faith: their wealth, in many cases, gave them respite; they paid heavily for their liberty until they had no more to pay.

But the poor, what of them? There was little opportunity afforded them of choice. They were brow-beaten into subjection, or hurried away into the common gaols, which thus became greatly overcrowded. Little wonder if, after a very brief space of four years from the date of the last of the above letters, in the whole of England and Wales there were at liberty no more than one thousand three hundred and sixty-eight known Catholics, of whom thirty-seven were priests.*

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* Public Record Office, Vol. 119, No. 20.

Tabulated list of Catholics and Priests in England and Wales. Date 1577, December 30th.

CHAPTER XI

THE SEMINARY PRIESTS

"A Warrant to apprehend Peter Renellard a French priest now or late serving the cure of Peperharow in Surrey.

"We will and commaund you in the Quenes name bie vertue of her highnes Comission for matters eccliasticall to us and others directed that furthwth upon receipt hereof you doe apprehend and attache or cause to be apprehended and attached Peter Renellard beynge a frenche priest nowe or late serving the cure of Peperharrow wthin the countie of Surreie. And that thereupon you sende him to warde to Guildford in the saide Countye there to remaine prisoner at or comaundment, untill he shall be examined bie us in matters wch shall be objected against him, and to be ordered bie us or anie of us in that behalf, whereof faile ye not as ye will aunswer to the contraire at yor pill. From Winchester the XXVth dail of August 1571.

"Your loving frends
"P. WINTON
"JOHN EBDEN
"W. ONCTOY
"F. KINGESMILE

"Endorsed B. Wynchester

"To all Justices of peace maiors Bailiffs, constables and all ther the Quenes mats officers and subjiects wthin the countie of Surrey aswell wthin liblies as wthoute, and especially to the worshipfull Mr. William Moore Esquire of the said county and to everie or any of the Council." (*Los.* Vol. V. n. 7.)

Bray indorsed this letter saying :—" There is no such name in the list of Rectors."

What Peter Renellard was really doing at Pepperharrow remains a mystery to this day. I have searched in vain at the Record Office and elsewhere for his name. Did he escape to the Continent or did he remain in England under some assumed name? We shall probably never know in this world. But there were such cases of priests serving for a time unmolested some secluded country cure; then conforming, then again repenting of such apostasy and their names disappearing from the calendar. But this state of things could not last long, the hunt was hot in pursuit and the hounds were many. In 1572 William Howard sent a letter to the magistrates summoning a meeting at Reigate in order that they might discuss how best to round up the fugitives in Surrey.

(*Los*. Vol. V.)

> " *W. Howard* about a Commission for fugitives in Surrey, to meet at his house in Reigate to consider what should be done.
>
> " Mr. Browne, I have received the Queen's Majesty's Commission under the great seal of England, touching fugitives in the county of Surrey. In which com. Mr. Weston, Mr. Baron Birche, Mr. More, Mr. Agmondeshamm and you are joined with me. I purpose (God willing) to be at my house at Reigate upon Friday next where I would most willingly have you all, to consider of the contents of the same Com. and thereupon to proceed accordingly. I pray you therefore find some means to send word hereof unto Mr. Weston, Mr. More, Mr. Agmondeshamm and Mr. Birche (if he be near at home) and if they be with me at my house upon Monday next, and then we will confer together what is best to be done. And so with commendations I bid you farewell. From the Court this Monday morning the VIIth of April 1572.
>
> " Your loving friend
> " W. Howard."

No time was lost—lists were at once drawn up of all her Majesty's subjects in the various counties. Every parish was searched. The churchwardens in each parish were made responsible for this work. Every man, woman and child was questioned as to his belief. Absentees from Church were asked to give a reason of their absence. Obstinate truants were reported to the Magistrates, were summoned before them, and if refractory were fined, later on imprisoned. No one could long escape this inquisition. As I have said, not alone the rich but the poor were canvassed in this way; neither wealth nor poverty relieved a man from persecution. Many withstood the onrush of this tide of oppression—so many indeed that the prisons very soon overflowed—as we have seen, even into the houses of the gentry who were unsuspected of partiality to the old faith. The condition of these prisoners was wretched in the extreme. Later in this work we shall have occasion to say something about them.

Just when Southampton was regaining his liberty, his wife and Montague's were espousing the cause of a " poor old woman, one

Parkins," who was detained in the White Lion. She had been sent there by the Bishop of Winchester and had already been a long time in prison. Neither her great age nor her poverty had saved her from this rough usage.

(*Los*. Vol. V. n. 1.)

> " Good Mr. Moore, Whereas at your last being here we moved you touching an old poor woman, one Parkins committed long since to the White Lion, by my Lord of Winchester, unto whom we both would have gladly have been sutors for her enlargement; considering her age and poor estate: for as much as we cannot have convenient access unto his L. and knowing that you have sundry times occasion of repair unto him, we have thought good to desire you in our behalf to be a means unto his good Lordship for the poor woman, as that she may (for the respects aforesaid) receive, by his charitable favour, easement in these her great years, of this long and overchargeable imprisonment wherein surely my L. shall do a charitable deed, and we have cause to think ourselves much beholding to his L. as also to you being a good mean therein. And so with our hearty commendations unto you, and to good Mrs. Moore, we bid you right heartily farewell.
>
> " From Cowdery the 26th of July 1573.
>
> " Your loving friends
> " M. SOUTHAMPTON
> " MAGDALEN MONTAGUE."

That is all we know of this poor woman.

The smoking flax shelters many dying embers, and these dull sparks, unseen by the official eye, form the means of rekindling a whole nation with the light of faith. It is a vain and foolish notion with which minds become sometimes obsessed that even in a land where autocracy holds sway it is possible to extinguish entirely the light of faith. Those who deceive themselves in this way leave out of count the in-born divinity of God's church, her mission to all nations, her universality.

As in the dim ages of long ago the light dawned to this country from far-off Rome, so now these smouldering embers must needs be rekindled to a bright flame of all-sacrificing charity by that centre of supernatural faith.

Assuredly it is only a Divine Church that could have withstood the shock sustained in the sixteenth century. The Catholic Church not only withstood this shock but emerged from it more glorious than ever before. When enemies arise against religion it is time to find a means of combating the evil. The Catholic Church has always considered that Our Lord placed in the Priesthood the great means whereby the flock of Christ should be fed with the Sacraments and Holy Doctrine, and that the learning and piety of the faithful will be largely measured by the learning and piety of the clergy. Cut off this source, and the lambs of Christ die for want of the spiritual waters of Divine Grace.

Hence at once a movement was set on foot to bring to perfection the means at hand for the education of missioners for England, and funds were collected so as to establish other colleges and to enable students to be trained for the work that had to be done.

There were already on the Continent two schools of learning: the University of Douai and a College at Rheims. Both were the result of the energies of Dr. Allen and priests had been educated at Douai and sent on to England; thus the flow being continued. But it was recognised that this was altogether inadequate for the needs of the time. The Marian clergy were all but some thirty-seven in prison and those who were still at large were becoming incapacitated through sickness and old age, intensified by the extreme privations of their lot. In the pre-reformation days the clergy had been trained in a great many colleges, some universities, many monastic schools here in England and abroad. The Catholic Church was deprived of all these centres of education in this land and those which remained abroad were in many instances impoverished by the wars and religious upheavals of that sixteenth century.

The energy of Dr. William Allen,* after created Cardinal, is never to be forgotten in connection with the work of sending missioners to this country. An interesting document kept in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Westminster gives us a brief account in the following words of the establishment of Douai College:—

> "On Dr. William Allen's return from Rome (A.D. 1568), whither he had been on a pilgrimage, he with two professors of Douai who were his fellow pilgrims, resolved to gather the English exiles into the University of Douai, then recently founded by the King of Spain, in order that they might practise their religion and pursue their studies under collegiate discipline."

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* *The following account is taken from the Catholic Encyclopedia:*

"William Cardinal Allen born in England, 1532 died in Rome 16th October 1594. He was the 3rd son of John Allen of Rossall, Lancashire, and at the age of 15 went to Oriel College, Oxford, where he graduated B.A. in 1550, and was elected fellow of his College. In 1554 he proceeded M.A., and two years later was chosen Principal of St. Mary's Hall. For a short time he also held

Dr. Allen met with serious difficulties, chief amongst which was that of obtaining the money needful. It was impossible for the majority of those who were likely to present themselves as candidates for the priesthood to contribute much towards their maintenance. However, as Father William Holt tells us in the document I have just quoted: "Notwithstanding these hindrances, Allen, casting all his care upon God, and buoyed up by the marvellous and almost unlooked for charity and encouragement of certain holy souls, persevered in his purpose, and with the approval and confirmation of His Holiness St. Pius V. opened the English College of Douai, A.D. 1569. During the first years his students were few and owed their scanty subsistence to the benefactions of certain Abbots in the neighbourbood of Douai and other good people, while Allen, who was one of the Regius Professors of the local university, cast

a canonry at York, for he had already determined to embrace the ecclesiastical state."

On the accession of Queen Elizabeth, he remained most firmly attached to the old religion; he resigned all his preferments and in 1561 he left the country and took refuge in Louvain.

"The following year, however, we find him back in England, devoting himself, though not yet in priest's orders, to evangelizing his native country. His success was such that it attracted notice and he had to flee for safety. For a while he made himself a missionary centre near Oxford, where he had many acquaintances, and later, for a time he sought protection with the family of the Duke of Norfolk. In 1565 he was again forced to leave England, this time, as it turned out, for good. He was ordained priest at Mechlin shortly afterwards. The three years Allen spent as a missioner in England had a determining effect on his whole life. For he found everywhere that the people were not Protestant by choice, but by force of circumstances, and the majority were only too ready, in response to his preaching and administrations, to return to Catholicity."

At the request of King Philip of Spain, he was created Cardinal in 1587. In the year 1589 his royal patron nominated him to the Archbishopric of Mechlin; but, for some reason which has never been satisfactorily explained, the nomination, although publicly allowed to stand several years, was never confirmed. He resided in the English College, Rome, from the year 1579 up to the time of his death in 1594; and he was buried in the chapel of the Holy Trinity adjoining the college.

Dr. Allen's energies on behalf of the seminaries and his efforts to bring back his countrymen to the faith of their fathers won universal approval until he espoused the cause of Spain. In this he lost the sympathy of by far the majority of English Catholics. In the course of time he became deeply convinced that his suffering brethren and children in the land of his birth and education should be succoured by force of arms and that a holy war should be preached against the aristocrats who scourged the faithful so mercilessly. An exhortation to take up arms in connection with the proposed Spanish invasion was printed at Antwerp and issued in his name. But it proved abortive: not even for an Allen, revered though he was by all Catholic sons of the Realm, would Englishmen seek to rid themselves of an intolerable yoke by selling their nation to the foreigner.

The Cardinal was a distinguished man of letters, and during his life he published many works in defence of the Catholic Church.

his stipend into the common fund and fared like the others. As the number of the students increased, while certain benefactors began to fail, Allen looked about him to find some staple source of income. His chief hope was in our most holy Lord Gregory XIII."

Like his illustrious and most holy namesake and predecessor Pope Gregory required no oratory to fill him with a spirit of zeal for the conversion of the Angles. The Pope immediately offered substantial help, and a monthly subsidy of one hundred crowns was presented by him, beginning from April 5th, 1575, and later in 1579 this was increased by another fifty crowns per month. The hospital of the English pilgrims at Douai was then converted into a college. Father William Holt goes on to tell us that the zeal of Dr. Allen led him to other foundations, and that he secured the sympathy of the King of Spain who granted lavish endowments for the establishing of two other seminaries in his own kingdom: Valladolid in the year 1590, and the other at Seville in the year 1592, and one more in France at St. Omer in 1593.

(The above extracts are translations of the Rev. Dr. Knox. I have taken them from the Records of the English Province, S.J., Vol. VII., p. 1239.)

It was in 1578 that the Seminary at Rheims was established, again through the energy of Dr. Allen, and in the following year, 1579, the Hospice for English pilgrims in Rome, near the Tiber, was converted by Gregory XIII. into a College for English students. Later the Colleges of St. Luca and Lisbon were founded. Many of our Catholic people here in England contributed of their wealth and of their poverty towards this noble work, and very soon there was a stream of young men going out from their fatherland to one or other of these colleges, thence after years of the most careful training, to return to a work of love, but extreme peril.

The money collected was very soon sufficient not only for the establishment of these Colleges, but overflowed so much as to form a sinking fund for the relief of many poverty-stricken Catholics who fled for peace and protection to the Continent. Father Henry Tichbourne, S.J., wrote to Father Thomas Darbyshire who was then at Pont-à-Mousson, in 1598, telling him of the hopeful outlook for catholicism in England, and attributing this to the energetic zeal of the Supreme Pontiff Gregory XIII. and to another cause which he describes as follows:—" The second support of this hope is the continual confluence of the rarest and best wits of our nation to the seminaries and their constance in following their mission, and procuring to be qualified for their return."

This is the more marvellous, he tells us, on account of the supreme severity of the laws which for ten or twelve years have now been carried into rigorous execution. He remarks the consoling fact that, whereas before these penal laws were published, we had but two seminaries, and those but indifferently furnished with persons and provisions, since that time we have eight, one in Rome numbering 70 students, one in Douai with 120, one in St. Omer with 80, one in Valladolid with 63, one in Seville with 65, while St. Luca and Lisbon send a yearly supply between them of from 40 to 50. He further tells us that the number of secular priests in England was then over 500, and this did not include the Jesuits, who numbered in England and abroad 150, besides the Capuchins and other religious to the number of 100. (Dom. Eliz. Vol. 262, No. 28. Extract taken from Records of the Jesuits, Vol. III., p. 723.)

Although the need was extremely urgent, more so indeed than ever since the foundation of Christianity in this land, there was nevertheless no undue haste, no hurrying of unprepared Levites to sow the seed and reap the harvest. In the days of the Black Death the fatal mistake was made here in England of ordaining men without any preparation. They were hurried into the Lord's Vineyard for the purpose of administering the Last Rites to the dying. The object was indeed a noble one, and many of these priests gave up their lives for their brethren, but the result of this excessive haste on the part of the Church in England was to attempt to sail the ship with men who knew nothing about navigation. An ignorant and untrained clergy is perhaps one of the greatest disasters that could befall the Church of God on earth. This mistake was not to be made again, but if the ever rising tide of infidelity, under the guise of new and purified learning, was to be stemmed at all, it must needs be by men who were fully equipped with learning and piety. Hence before sending men on the mission the Church put them through a severe course of studies; the period of immediate preparation for the priesthood was seven years: three years' philosophy and four years' theology. In that time they had ample opportunity of grasping not only the correct principles of right reasoning, but also of sounding the fallacies of the new doctrines. The course implied a thorough training in the science of Sacred Scripture and of the Holy Fathers; a wide knowledge of Ecclesiastical History, and all the principles of Moral Theology which govern the treating of spiritual diseases.

With this equipment they were capable of facing the difficulties which met them every day in this country. These difficulties did not consist merely in braving dangers and escaping from pursuers; it was not the hazardous circumstances under which they offered the Divine Sacrifice and administered the Sacraments that formed the sum total of their labours; their work consisted very largely in strengthening the faith of the wavering, in reclaiming the wanderer, in comforting the anxious and bereaved, and oft-times even in bringing spiritual solace to the imprisoned. What was ever kept before the young student during his years of training was the spirit of self-sacrifice which was to animate his life. He was going into a land that was hostile to him; he was to overcome his enemies by charity. These Seminary priests were not emissaries of a foreign power; they were not the champions of political intrigue, they were Englishmen, with English hearts and filled with the one ambition of dying for their countrymen.

In Rome at this time there was a holy priest now known the world over as Philippo Neri. He lived opposite the English College and on seeing the English College students pass by he often saluted them with the words: "Salvete flores martyrum" (Hail, flowers of the martyrs!). Not once but many times had their fellow countrymen an opportunity of hearing them protesting their loyalty and devotion to the Crown at the very hour when the noose was round their neck, and she, who wore the crown, was doing them to death.

It is not now in the twentieth century that men can be so hypocritical as to deny that these priests died not because of any disloyalty to the Crown, but because they could not sacrifice their loyalty to religion. Over and over again in the documents in the Public Record Office and in those which are kept at Loseley, is the cause of their death assigned solely to their religion. Nor is it reasonable of any man now to maintain that this religion itself constituted disloyalty to the Crown.

Then as now Our Lord's words formed the key-note of the whole situation: "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's." Our Lord never made His religion subject to the whims and fancies of earthly princes. "My Kingdom is not of this world," He said. And as He was condemned as a seditious man, so were the priests and Catholics generally here in England. But religion was the crime.

It was not to be imagined that these priests had easy access into their own country; on the contrary every difficulty imaginable was put in their way. The following letter from the Council to Sir William More, Vice-Admiral of the County of Sussex, is of interest in this connection:—

"*xviii. Dec.* 1583. From the Council to Our very loving friend Sir William Moore knight vice-admiral of the County of Sussex.

"After our very hearty comms. Whereas it is thought expedient that for the prohibiting of the daily passing out of the Realm of divers of her Maj's subjects into the parts beyond the seas without license, most of them being persons evil affected to the present state of her Maj's goverment, there is order presently to be taken through all the maritime Counties of the Realm, and for redress thereof in the Co. of Sussex, it is among other things thought requisite that you as Viceadmiral of that Co. do forthwith upon the receipt hereof cause bonds to be taken in good soms of money to her Maj's use of all the owners and masters of shipps and vessels dwelling within or near unto any of the havens or creeks under jurisdiction that they shall take no passengers into their ships or vessels to be conveyed over the seas out of this realm, but such as shall be licenced by her Majy or by the LL. of the Counsel or by some one of them by her Maj's special direction or by passport signed by such commissioners as are now specially appointed within or near unto every haven or creek within the said County to examine and take knowledge of such as shall offer to pass beyond the seas: and search that any of them that shall bring any person from foreign parts into this Realm shall immediately upon their arrival carry and present any such person by them brought over to the said commissioners to be examined according to such direction as they have in that behalf received from us: and the bonds so taken of them to be immediately returned into her Maj's Exchequer; wherein we require you not to fail as you will answer the trust reposed in you. And so we bid you heartily farewell. From the Court at St. James the xviiith of Dec. 1583.

"Your very loving friends
"T. BROMLEY: Canc. W. BUGLEY E. LINCOLNE
"A. WARWICK F. BEDFORD R. LEYCESTER. H. HUNSDEN
"CRS. HATTON WA. MYLINAYE

"To or very loving friend
Sr William More knight, viceadmiral of the County of Sussex."

It may be urged that this order was intended to prevent her Majesty's subjects from joining the forces of the King of Spain, and Spanish emissaries from coming into the island for purposes of spying; but we know that, although these objects may not have been entirely out of the mind of the Council, it is certain that the hunt for priests and the prevention of candidates presenting themselves to the various colleges abroad for training was very much a part of the Council's programme. Some years before the Sheriffs and Justices of the Peace in Surrey received the following order from the Council :—

> " To or loving friends the
> Sherif and Justices of
> peace in the Countie
> of Surrey.
>
> " After our verie hastie comendacons. The Quene's Matie being given to understand that as well wthin that Countie as in diverse other parts of the Realme, there be certaine lewd and evill disposed persons w'ch do remayne obscurely in secret places or els verie secreatly goe from place to place disguised in apparel, eith after the maner of serving men or of artificers, wheras they be indeed popishe and massyng preasts, and doe under that visor, in whispering maner howld and maynteine-sondrie of hir Mat subjects in superstition and error : some of the p'tending to have authoritie from the pope to reconcile men and women to the Churches of Rome and to divert their due obedience and allegiance from our most graciouse Ladie the Quene, or. undoubted soveraigne. A kynd of people and a maner of practise over long used and in no wyse anie more to be sufred. And therefore hir Mats pleasure is and in her highnes name wee ernestly requyre and chardge you to conferre earnestly together and to use all good meanes possible that you can for the diligent inquiries from tyme to tyme, and finding owt of such disguised pons. And where you shall fynd anie vehement p'sumption that anie suche psons shalbe likely to hawnt, some of you that shall inhabite nearest unto the place so suspected, calling unto you the constable or some other publique officer shall make searche in the howse that shall be houlden so suspected, and use as good discretion as you can to fynd yf anie such bee there, or by any presumptions uppon matters likely that anie suche person hathe been there, the w'ch maye bee conjectured most sonest, yf there shall be fownd there in that place anie mass books, superaltaris, or anie other such thing belonging to the masse. And yf anie offendor in that case shalbe by suche meanes found, you shall apprehend them. And of yor doynges in this behalf, besydes th'advertisyng of us by yor l'res, you shall informe the L. Bushoppe of the Diocesse or the ordinarie, and take sufficient order for the committing and forthcomyng of suche as you shall fynd to be offenders, that they may be answerable according to the qualitie of their faults. And so nothing doubtyng of yor good discretions herein, we byd you

hartely farewell. From the Court at Hatfield the Vth of Septembe 1578.

" Yor loving frends,
" R. LEYCESTER
" W. BURGHLEY
" F. KNOLLYS JAMYS CROFT
" THO'S WYLSON F. WALSYNGHAM.

" To or. loving frends the Sherif and
Justic 's of Pece, in the Countie
of Surrey." (*Los.* Vol. V. n. 15.)

In this manuscript we are told that priests " maintain sundry of her Majesty's subjects in superstition and error ; some of them pretending to have authority from the Pope to reconcile men and women to the Church of Rome, and to divert their due obedience and allegiance from our most gracious lady the Queen, our undoubted sovereign." What this due obedience means is that men should recognise the Queen as supreme ruler, temporal and spiritual, of God's Church in England. To this kind of allegiance very few in those days could lay claim, fewer still now. But what the document shows most clearly is the enormous difficulty that was raised against all those who, fired by a spirit of zeal, hoped to bring back their country to the obedience to Christ's Shepherd.

CHAPTER XII.

HOW THE PRIESTS CAME TO ENGLAND.

WHEN "every haven and creek" round the coast is carefully guarded, when every soul that leaves the country or returns to these shores is carried and presented to the commissioners to be examined as to his right of leaving or returning and his antecedents, it would seem well nigh impossible for large numbers to come and go, almost at will, in defiance of the law. Yet so it was. The day was fixed for a student's return to his land, and without fail he came. That he could not come openly under his own name, in the garb of a priest, with the avowed object of converting his fellow-countrymen stands to reason. Hence it was customary for priests to provide themselves with many aliases, to come sometimes as gentlemen, travelling for pleasure, or again as business men, or even as servants. It happened also that they came as seamen, seeking some occupation—but come they did. The Government soon became aware of the ruses thus adopted and their army of spies was quickly at hand. No means were considered unlawful in hunting down the priests. Bribes were offered lavishly everywhere. Ship-owners were cajoled or threatened into surrendering all the information they might possess. The spies sought positions of trust in harbours, on boats and across the seas. They even sought admission into the Catholic Church, lived for a time as most devout Catholics, receiving that which they daily blasphemed; they went further still, they made pious pilgrimages to the tombs of the Apostles in Rome; they sought admission into the Seminaries; they went through the training of the Seminary life and during all this time they earned their Judas money by giving information to the Lords of the Council at home.

According to the information of one of these spies, in a document which I have copied from the Public Record Office, the servant of Dr. Allen himself was made to divulge some useful points for the benefit of Walsingham. (Dom. Eliz. Vol 178 n. 19.).

> "To the Right Hon. Sir Francis Walsingham, knight, Principal Secretary to her Majesty And one of her M. most hon. privie Coun. Right Hon. may it please you to be Advertd. that upon Eater day last I conferred with Richard, Servant to Doctor

Allen, who is prepared to depart from London towards France to-morrow in the neight with a pair of oars, to Tilbury hope, where one Nicholas de Hew, a french man of Callais, will attend for him & to convey him to Dieppe, or in some other place near unto it. There passeth in the same ship of Callais one Barker of Oxford & Moore of Cambridge (as they call themselves) & both Masters of Arts ; to be made priests at Reims.

"This servant gives information to the effect that Dr. Allen doth use to deliver to every priest for his journey into England 6 or 7 £ in money and a new suit of Apparel to wear at his first arrival in England, and that the said priests most commonly do come over in french boats that come to Newcastle for coals, who do land the said priests either at Newcastle or in some creek near to the same. They make choice of that place the rather for that Robert Higheclyf her Maj's officer at Newcastle is a papist in heart, & made acquainted with their coming, & that his wife is & hath been a papist this 3 or 4 years. & that by her direction the said priests with their books do pass in security. And that the said Higheclif hath certain servants dwelling about the creek near to Newcastle which willingly do receive the priests & help to convey them farther into the land, unto the houses of one Gooderick, Heereclif, Grymshaw & Nevell, all gent. of great living, where the said priests are received & change their apparel & are provided of horses for their journey to London or elsewhere."

What we are told in this document is instructive as affording interesting details about the equipment of the Seminary priests and their manner of obtaining access to these islands. But there is one document which is of still greater interest as it gives considerable information about the doings of the clergy and the dastardly methods of spies. It is a terrible shock to see such a writing hypocritically subscribed to the Holy Name and concluded by a pious aspiration in the name of the Redeemer. It is signed by Samuel Pettingat and dates from 1851 or 1584. I give the whole manuscript as I have copied it from the Public Record Office :—

"Jesus

"Whereas your honour desireth to know all such manner dealings as the papists do use towards protestants for to make them deny their Lord & Maker and so to revolt from their faith : I can certify your honour a truth by no means better than in setting forth unto your honour's view their behaviour towards me & my fellow in our abode there amongst them. First therefore when we came to Rome we went unto the English Seminary there and whereas to others the privilege of the house is but 8 days, yet because we were scholars, young men, in necessity & not instructed in their religion, they granted unto us 6 weeks at the least in which time they did nothing but persuade us for to be reconciled to their Church & to be come (as they call them) Catholics. We had a book or two which they took from us and instead of them gave us such books as best pleased their minds, in the which we learned seven sacraments, we learnt works without faith to be sufficient unto salvation, we learned the Pope to be the head of the Church, & that whatsoever he did bind and loose in earth the same was bound & loosed in heaven, that whosoever died not in the state of their church died not in the state of grace & so consequently could not be saved. Of purgatory also there somewhat was to be seen, and how in the Sacrament we did eat and drink the body and blood of Christ really and substantially with an infinite company more of such devilish doctrines amonst Christians not once to be named. Thus when they had nostered us at their pleasure a time they called a congregation in the which the Pope gave us leave to be admitted into the bosom of their Church. All this done, yet they could not admit us thereunto till such time as being led by fear or compelled by force they had made us to adjure ourselves and utterly to forsake God & His truth ; and in stead of this to swear that for ever we would follow their religion, namely Antechrist superstition and idolatry. Now when they had wrought us to their purpose as they thought, then we were amongst them confirmed. After that we were confessed and were pardoned our sins by a man who hath no less need to have his sins washed in the blood of Christ Jesus than we had then or have now, and thus they do with all such that do come thither. I have known them use the like with three in my time now there remaining. I did not for want of time make discourse of this unto my L. Ambassador ; but I did promise him to do it when I came to your honour. Thus your honour may easily gather how they deal with all such as they get into their claws by this that I have said of myself. Notwithstanding the Pope is not ashamed to say that he hath power to bind & loose, yet he doth not nor cannot (as he himself will say) loose a man both from sin and from the pain due for sin, but he is contented for a money matter to forgive the sin leaving the punishment thereof unto God, the greatest absurdity that ever was heard if it be considered ; but amongst many, this is the least.

"Furthermore, whereas your honour commanded me to set down the names of all such as I did know beyond the seas enemies to the estate of their country & fled for religion, although I cannot remember all the names of those which I did know and remember, I will rehearse unto your honour as truly as I can. Thus therefore I begin.

All these with many others whose names I know not, in prison in the Inquisition	Mr. Eglinb ye Mr. Baynes Mr. Dutton Mr. Marsye Edward in the Castle Robert in the College Mr. Crewe Mr. Borne Mr. Tucker Lyster & his two sons Mr. Yardly Mr. Awfyld
All these are priests which did lately live in the Seminary but those whom I have crossed are coming to their country	Mr. Good Mr. Ingane Mr. Bycklye Mr. Gybinge *Mr. Gifford xMr. Bell xMr. Woodroff xMr. Rowling Mr. Barrade xMr. Coulworth
All these are priests which live in Rome upon the pope's charge	The Bishop of Pete asse Doctor Morton Mr. Jonson Mr. Robartes Mr. Owen Mr. Mondyne
The Bishop's men & the Pope's pensioners	Mr. Trivilion John Adcockes
All these live in the town some scholars some otherwise upon the pope's charge	Mr. Haslewood Mr. Stokes Mr. Clement Mr. Gresyme Mr. Wigges Mr. Simpson Mr. Brigosa, his wife & 2 children Mr. Burges One William
These all with many more whose names I know not scholars in the college there to be made priests at commandment & to come to their country	Mr. Gilbert Mr. Bassett Mr. Clement his son Mr. Middlemor Mr. Sanye Mr. Cornelius Mr. Owne Two names sons of York Wright senior Wright jun. Mr. Ferner (?) Mr. Gosse. Mr. Pormothe Mr. Hardstye

One Edward gone upon the Pope's charge into Spain a spy against protestants.

One Storye a Jesuiste at Loreto one Sheperys a priest in the Cardinal of Bolognia his house. One Adre his wife & child living on the pope in Lyons. Mr. Coffin & Mr. Barnes, living on the Pope at Rhemes.

"There are in the Seminary at Rome 20 more at the least whose names I know not and of this I did certify my L. Ambassador so far forth as then I did call to my remembrance how Paris doth abound with papists, the same is well known unto my Lord and I am persuaded that his honour hath & doth seek all possible means to root them out if it would be. And this I can say that honour refuseth neither cost nor labour to win them (if they would hear him) unto the Shepherd of their souls Christ Jesus, & to obedience towards their prince & country:

"Further, whereas your honour commanded me to set down the means that may be used best to hear news from Rome, for the better benefit of our country, my wit is so slender that I am able to devise no way for the accomplishing of the same, but that which before I have imparted to my Lord Ambassador, namely:—

"There is in Rome one John Brygosa an Italian married to an English woman by whom he hath two children, he speaketh very good English, he loveth well our country, he is constrained to live there daily worshipping of idols as they do; but if a man could acquaint himself with him under the show of an Italian, he need not enquire of him the state of our countrymen there, he shall know of him matter sufficient to work his country's weal unasked. For he is a man very talkative, laboureth with penury, loveth our country & hateth their trumpery.

"I also certify his honour of one William an Englishman married there to an Italian woman, the same having been in Turkey 14 years, together with one Fox who is here in England came to Rome & there hath lived 5 years in some misery. This spring he would very willingly have come away, but they would in no wise suffer him. He hateth from his heart the Whore of Rome with all her abominations, only he doth dissemble a matter with them, trusting thereby at length to be delivered from that sink of sin. I am persuaded, if the man did surely know he should be kept blameless and for his good will to be but free from danger, he would work for the benefit of his country by all possible means he could.

"Further I advertised my L. of one Ewarde Rose, a young man, sometime a scryvener here in London, the same owing some small piece of money, and willing to keep himself out of trouble, embarked himself into a ship, and, having from his Mr. a letter of commendations unto Englishmen at Rome, thither came, nothing knowing the dangers that should ensue. When he had delivered his letters, they did him little good, because he was not as yet reconciled to their Church. Him they had to the Inquisition where I, being his interpreter, did see him dealt with in every degree as I also was at my first coming thither. He liveth there amongst them under a shadow of mere devotion, But I dare assure your honour he loveth their churches, their Masses, and their massmongers as I love poison—He is a young man very close and wise, he pleadeth amongst them nothing but simplicity which causeth him to live there void of all suspicion more safely. He is the fittest man that I know in all round to accomplish your honour's request in that respect.

" Note I pray you that the Mr of the ship as he said, was a papist.

" I told my L. that these 3 were very fit men to be spies, but then his honour must seek out the man which might apply himself unto them, and be, as it were, a broker between his honour and them in carrying and recarrying letters ; which is a thing, if not impossible, hard to do ; for they have taken this order, that no man doth pass in or out of Italy, be he an Italian, Spaniard, Frenchman, Englishman, Dutchman, German or Poloman (if he be not a man unto them very well known), But at his coming in and at his going out he is searched from top to toe. If he be found with letters, and they hang in suspense what the letters may be, they break them ope, and, if in them they happen to find any matter touching their estate he is then despoiled, and also cast in prison, there to endure at their pleasure.

" This much I certified my L. Ambassador more that many he might thither send but few or none of them should ever come away for if he be known to have been in France, though he never come in England (or, at the least not of two or three years) and goeth not from D. Allen, letters are at Rome afore him for his apprehending when he cometh thither.

" I further certified his honour that if there before rehearsel were not suffucient instruments to bring to pass his honour's purpose, then if he did please to find out the man, I would set down the course he should take, which, if he would observe, he should live in Rome a spy so long as him lysted, and moreover, if means could be found to convey letters, I would show unto his honour how a man should go thither and return again at his pleasure without all suspicion. His honour enquired not of me the means how this might be wrought, only he willed me to advertise your honour thereof when I came to London. To show myself obedient therefore unto his honour's commandments, I assure your honour that if all occasions of hearing news from Rome were taken away (as I think they be well near) yet I your honour may betray the same by pilgrimage.

"Last of all I gave his honour to note of one Pound, a priest bound for England. He came from Rome in the beginning of Lent, and I did think he would come by Paris; which if he did, I told his honour that, in my opinion, no greater benefit could be wrought to our country than to work his apprehending. He is a very weak man, and such a one as I think, according to the proverb 'had rather turn than burn,' which if he could be brought unto, it would greatly work the confusion of the papists, for that is one of the things that they do chiefly boast of, namely, that as yet none of their priests have fallen or recanted.

> "How to fulfil your honour's Commt. in setting down these things which do most hurt the estate of our Country, and also my opinion now to remedy the same, I assure your honour that I hardly know any more than those which I have already named, and it seemeth to me that in this your honour hath laid upon me a greather burthen than in all the rest. Yet according to my bounden duty as concerning the one I will discharge myself, and as touching the other I will leave the care thereof unto your honour's wisdom.

"First, therefore, that matters in counsel privately handled might be prevelye kept and not imparted but unto those which love their country and the good estate thereof; for I protest unto your honour that there is nothing done in your private Counsil which is now known at Rome within 8 weeks at the most and this I think one inconvenience, but as touching the remedy thereof I leave that to your honour.

"Another inconvenience is the life of Parsons a Jesuit, who hurteth our counry more than I am able declare only I note the name unto your honour as one great hurt unto our country and to be forseen by your honour's wisdom.

"Another inconvenicnce is as I think the continuance of the English seminary at Rhemes, a thing very easy to be reformed and no small benefit unto our commonwealth, for if it were made frustrate the seminary at Rome were to no effect I could lay down some reason for that which I do say but your honour's wisdom is able to comprehend the sound of my meaning.

"Another inconvenience is that papists are suffered to live in the Innes of Court (I dare not say in the Queen's Majesty's Court) lest I should offend, but this I dare boldly say that amongst lawyers papists, then there are in all England besides, for ye have not now almost in England one papist priest which have not been a lawyer or else brought up amongst them: but what do I meddle in these matters above my reach.

"Another discommodity ensueth by giving unto young gentlemen leave to travel beyond the seas under the pretence of learning language were it not for discharge of my conscience and for showing my betrothed duty unto your honour I had rather with silence to overpass these things than otherwise to deal with them, fearing that if it were known I should have small reward for my labour.

"Another inconvenience is that your Searchers are not trusty. They covet all to be gentlemen and if at the first entering their office they be not worth a groat, within a year or two they become so rich that they will be purchasers. This is not by just dealing and serving God and their prince faithfully. Look unto this more nearly for our country hereby is greatly injured and the Queen's Majesty and her counsel deceived.

"The departure of the Queen of Scots is wished for which if it might happen would work our country (without great oversight) great annoy.

"It is said that the keeping league with the French king is no small benefit unto our country.

"Trust is reposed in the king of Spain to bring our country to confusion whose subtle policy and develish pretence God for His Son Christ's sake confound and bring to nought. And this much for the discharge of duty as far forth as I can remember I have set down unto your honour: humbly craving and in the bowels of God's mercy meekly beseeching your honour, to have always a provident care and a wakeful eye unto the infinite dangers and innumerable calamities whereunto this our small island is subject and ready daily to fall into if by the Eternal Providence of Almighty God and your honour's great care and foresight the wicked purposes and ungodly devices of our sworn and deadly enemies be not prevented. Whose honour to the advancement of God's glory, the confounding of antechrist, and commodity of this common weal, He preserve for ever Who by his death and precious Blood redeemed us. Amen.

Indorsed "Secret Advertisement—SAMUEL PETTINGAT."

(Dom. Eliz. Vol. 149 n. 84.)

The reader has no doubt been shocked by the blasphemous nature of this document, but I have thought it better to give it in its entirety as it tells us many things worth our knowing. This man Pettingat did not blush to tell the tale of his perfidious entry into the English College at Rome, *as a scholar—a young man in necessity* for the purpose of being instructed in the Catholic religion. Of course what he tells us about his having been forced to be reconciled to the Church, and his account of the teaching of the Catholic Church must be read in the light of his own perfidy. He astutely mixes truth with calumny and so intermingles misrepresentations of Catholic doctrine with true principles as to make his sincerity the more plausible. What is apparent in this narrative is that contrary to his belief he sought and obtained admission into the Catholic Church. The document gives information which is of value to us, as it tells of the noble priests who were to give their lives to the Church. Several of those mentioned afterwards died in England the most glorious deaths. If affords also a graphic account of the plots of the Government to run these priests to death. In his own words, neither cost nor labour was spared in the work of spying. In one case it is a John Brygosa who " laboureth with penury, loveth our country and hateth their trumpery," on whom money is to be spent, because this man lives a life of a hypocrite and is therefore more easily to be persuaded to serve the Protestant cause. In another case it is a certain William who " hateth from his heart the whore of Rome, with all her abominations, only he doth dissemble a matter with them, trusting thereby at length to be delivered from that sink of sin." Again it is one Edward Rose, who " liveth there amongst them under a shadow of mere devotion, but I dare assure your honour he loveth their Churches, their Masses and their Massmongers, as I love poison. He is a young man, very close and wise, he pleadeth amongst them nothing but simplicity which causeth him to live there void of all suspicion more safely. He *is the fittest* man that I know in all round to accomplish your honour's request in that respect." These Uriah Heeps are to be noble champions of the Reformation. And Samuel Pettingat will train them or any others in the art of betrayal and lying. We note that a pious pilgrimage to Rome is suggested. What trust is to be placed in the accusations of such men ? Samuel Pettingat further tells his correspondent that the Government searchers themselves " are not trusty. They covet all to be gentlemen and if at the first entering to their office they be not worth a groat, within a year or two, they become so rich that they will be purchasers." We know how these searchers succeeded in acquiring their fortunes. Having set out on an expedition of plunder, and having rid themselves of all conscience before their undertaking, remuneration was their sole aim and the more wealth they could amass the better they were pleased, no matter how they came by this wealth.

Their methods are best shown by a document which comes from the Loseley collection and which I have copied in full.

“The humble pets of Thomas Harrison his Mats poore servant one imployed in his Mats special service.

“May it please this honble house to take special notice and consideration of a bill preferred by you . . . against the pursennts of the high Commission Caist wherin are declared and apparent . . . good many misdeanors practised by these as in receiving of bribes selling . . . Jesuits and convicted persons and apprehending and recelling the . . . selling of bonds taken to his Mats use and imployed to their own . . . Mats loss of thousands; as also of connivance in the register . . . accessory of subbornation . . . committed by his Matis the lo. Archbishop of Cant the lo. Chanc. . . . and the Lo. Sheffield. And by the 2 former committed . . . the Lo. B. of Banger and the Lo. Sheffield as in his bill mere . . . by a book dedicated to his Matie by the Lo. B. of Bangor . . . commanded by his Matie to certify and in which book . . . the full servies

“And in this book to his Matie is expressed these insufferable misdemeanors of the Pursuivants: since the last session of Parliament which pursuivants then found guilty of treachery bribery and extortions craved his Mats general pardon and since that time committed these abuses as followeth vidz.

	£
They took Jackson a dangerous Jesuit in Yorkshire and let him escape for	220
They took one Weston a priest the same day 3 years past in great men's hands and let escape	32
They took Hungat the priest and let him escape for the sum of	100
They took bond of Sr Wm Hungate for his appearance in the sum of	100
They sold that bond to Sr Wm Hungate a year after which your Pet staied for	20
They took Ashe and Gravener 2 Jesuits and let them escape for	50
They took bond for Jackson's app. but never certified	400
They took Mrs. Smithe's schoolmaster priest and let him escape for	150
They took bond for his app. which they returned to Mrs. Smithe which she hath of	400

	£
They took Browen als Brabant a priest: lle bond is upon affed did forth of the office of	500
They took 18 persons going beyond and let them escape for great sums whereof Mr. Farrell . . . had 2 sums and a schoolmaster who let them escape for	36
They took . . . the priest 4 times and let him escape for 4 several sums	
They took him once at Mass with a knight with company and let them all escape for	
They sold to Mr. Isarell . . . bonds taken to his Mats use to Cosen his Matis.	
They took Averton a priest and let him escape for	70
They took bond for his appearance	100
They removed Craford, also Betson and let him escape the sum not known	
They took Blunt the priest and let him escape for a gelding and	20
They took Grene a priest and let him escape for	100
They took 2 at Long Melford and let them escape for great sums not known	
They took Mr. Grevells priest and let him escape for	200
They took for Mr. Carrolls priest either £80 or	200
They took D. Western . . . the scottish priests and let them escape	
They took . . . at the Lands of Brenster of York and let him escape for	100
They took . . . John Clark	100
They took a discovery of 107 priests by violence forth of your Petr's pocket which they let escape	

"Your humble Petr prayeth that Mullens Clerk of Records of the Starchamber may bring forth the pursuivants Records wherefore they craved his Mats general pardon the last Sessions of Parliament being there found guilty therecy bribery and oppression. And your humble Petr, knowing the danger and opposition of great persons flieth for justice into the arms of this honourable house and on bended knees craves to be heard And will pray &c.

"THOMAS HARRISON."

Marginal note. "File the receipt . . . their books show reason why the sum was not expressed. Henr. Huddlestons bond of 400£ and the particulars of 3,000£ bonds dd to Sr. Robert

Nauton for priests app. and others in premunire would be looked into and oppression." (*Los*. Vol. V. n. 71.)

Adding these last two sums to the others we get a total of £6,032 which in modern figures would work out at something like £72,384. This probably was only a small fraction of the sums extorted by methods of intimidation.

The Public Record Office has literally scores of reports to the Government from spies: and writ large on every page of these documents is dishonesty and perfidy of the blackest kind. The very exaggerated language itself and the frequent contradictions prove their untrustworthy nature. On one of these "advertisements" (Don. James I., Vol. XXX., No. 62, 1608) the Prime Minister himself writes: "a most unlikely and absurd discovery . . . I know this man to be a knave." The man's name was Francis Tillotson, an apostate.

But the work of the Seminaries was causing very grave anxiety to the Government; not indeed because these Seminaries were thought to be centres of political intrigue, nor even that the Pope himself was suspected of any designs upon this country, but solely for the reason that I have stated before in the course of this work: that Elizabeth having resolved to acquire absolute and unquestioned control over the spiritual and temporal life of her country, she could not brook anything that might thwart her designs in this matter. No historian of weight can with any seriousness maintain that Elizabeth was a religious-minded woman. If, therefore, she raged against the Church of Rome it was not from any love of Protestant principles, but because she realised that Rome was the one power capable of withstanding her claim to spiritual independence.

Amongst the Domestic Papers of Elizabeth in the Record Office there is one, a letter from a certain Horazio Pallavicino, written in Italian and with strange ciphers at the end. I have translated it because I think it is of interest in this connection. It reads very much like the letter of a spy. There are some interesting details about the growing power of the Prince of Parma in Belgium and the gathering of the Spanish and Italian forces. Notwithstanding the political upheaval of the times, notwithstanding also the persecutions that the Church has had to bear in Belguim and in England and elsewhere, according to Pallavicino, the Pope has himself nothing but pacific intentions and although Ireland at that time had no cause for friendship for England and might have been used as a means of aggression against this country, the Pope had no wish to stir up racial hatreds.

"My most illustrious Sir,

"Although my enforced departure was at the price of the undertaking which your illustrious Lordship gave me to be the interpreter of my gratitude towards her Majesty for the favour which was shown to me through your Lordship in my brother's cause, nevertheless I cannot refrain from begging you not to forget to do so and that in such terms of good will that they may signify the heartfelt affection with which I have occasion to do this in person. I hear from Artois that the people who are continually arriving in those provinces are mere supplementary cavalry divisions of the Albanesi, and the Italians for the purpose of making good the daily losses by war and weather. Some reinforcements arrive in to Luxembourg* and therefore the Count of Mansfelt went there and I gather that there was no disturbance. The Prince of Parma is staying at Tournai. The Government of that town has fallen to the ambition of the most influential citizens. He did not seek any plunder in the city and when he went to Namur he left Mondragone as Governor, although he knew him to be unpopular. His authority increases daily, because the better families submit themselves willingly and they have an ever-diminishing confidence and hope in the nobles of the country, in whom they find no secure assistance. But the Provinces will not yet consent to the entrance of the Italian and Spanish infantry, although the matter is treated in Privy Council with the object of hastening to a general resolution. Money has been flowing in continually from Spain, and it is evident they are carefully watching the progress of affairs. From Rome we are informed that the Pope at present neither thinks nor hopes to be able to worry this Kingdom; neither directly through his own intervention, nor by the help of Princes, neither by openly declaring war, or less still through Ireland. One can see that he is greatly taken up with the idea of increasing the revenues of that College of English Jesuits by gifts sent from England, hoping thereby to maintain those here who are of their way of thinking and to be able to meet any eventualities. For this object he gives them large endowments and favours them most lavishly. But if his expenses are paid, as they say, you will not need to find many who will undertake the journey. Your Lordship will be careful to interpret these last words as you know how, and it is not necessary that I should dwell on them any further.

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* Or the passage may read: "A retreat is taking place in Luxembourg."

> "I kiss your hands and pray God to preserve you. From London 10th February, 1582.
>
> "Your most illustrious Lordship's affectionate servant,
>
> "HORAZIO PALLAVICINO."
>
> "Indorsed to the most illustrious Lord, My Lord Francis Walsingham."
>
> (Dom. Eliz. Vol. 147, No. 49.)
>
> (Italian original in the Appendix.)

From what has been said about the employment of spies, it would not appear unjust nor gratuitous to suggest that the expenses referred to at the end of this letter are the bribes offered to priest hunters like Samuel Pettingat.

But spies and pursuivants notwithstanding, they came to England, did the Seminary Priests, and came in ever-increasing numbers.

This Horazio Pallavicino was in truth a very "mete" person to obtain information for Elizabeth's government. He was a merchant travelling backwards and forwards between England and the Continent and having constant dealings with the various kingdoms of Europe. On one occasion he effected a purchase of jewels in Italy for Queen Elizabeth. He was also intimately connected with the Church: Sforza Pallavicini had written the "History of the Council of Trent," and was undoubtedly of the same family as Horazio. Horazio's brother was imprisoned in England—but for what cause I have been unable to discover.

In a letter to Walsingham dated June 13th, 1582, Horazio Pallavicino writes:—

> "I hear this morning that an Italian friend here has received letters from Rome of the 28th ult., in which are the following words: 'Signor Pallavicino has been released from prison, but with his arms in bad case and the Englishmen who were the cause of this trouble are so closely imprisoned that no one knows anything of them.' You see that the cruelty of my adversaries could not be sated with the imprisonment and other ill-usage, without adding torture, by which my good brother, naturally very delicate, never believed that the tyranny of that government could have gone to such excesses against an innocent person and one against whom it was impossible to have any lawful evidence. But their malignity and perfidious disposition has easily broken all the bounds of law and justice. I pray God to do vengence for it, or permit honest men to do it on earth with

their hands; and I hope to see it, if I die of no ill other than old age." (Dom. Eliz. Vol. 62, n. 88.)

Lord Cobham, writing to Walsingham on the same day as Pallavicino, says: "Horazio Pallavicini's brother is released from prison, but left maimed in his arms from the torture he has received." (Dom. Eliz. Vol. 62, n. 87.)

We may be allowed to conjecture that the reason why Horazio's brother was tortured was for the purpose of extracting information. Although the Queen had given the merchant cause for confidence in the treatment of the prisoner, the unfortunate man was, never-the less, tortured and further detained for another four months. We can only gather that Pallavicino had not risen to the expectations of the Sovereign, and that she had tried in this way to make him more amenable to her will. Horazio, however, was thus converted from a friend of the Government into a bitter and implacable enemy. But, if Walsingham lost one useful spy, he found many others.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE LABOURERS IN THE VINEYARD.

IN the diary of the English College, Rome, for December, 1581, we read the following :—" We sent this year to England eight priests, three of whom, Pitt, Haydock and Bishop, having been arrested by the heretics, gave illustrious proof of their constancy in the faith. The first two were seized on the same day in London, together with some young noblemen ; the first when questioned on landing hesitated a little. His companions having been prepared with their answers made their escape, leaving him in custody. To free himself from the importunity of his captors he at length owned he was a priest and being brought on the morrow before the Privy Council, where he nobly confessed the faith, he was committed to prison. His companions are still labouring with great success and to God's greater glory in spreading the Catholic Faith. They are assiduous in preaching and hearing confessions ; they celebrate Mass, administer the Holy Eucharist and other Sacraments to the Catholics, bring back heretics from error to the truth, in a word they are wholly given to the work of the sacred ministry. A notable result of this may be seen in the reconciliation of no less than 10,000 who have been received this year into the Church. Though as we are aware, a great, not to say the greater part of this abundant harvest is, under God, to be ascribed to the blessed martyrs Campion, Bryant and Sherwin. Their precious deaths, the iniquity of which is confessed by many even of the heretics, have borne so much fruit, that both Catholics and their adversaries affirm that had they lived a hundred years their lives could never have availed so much as their brief but glorious death, for of the heretics nearly 4,000 have been reconciled to the Church, and many Catholics who heretofore were timid and disposed to yield now stand forth boldly and undauntedly. Numbers too take such delight in bonds and persecution as to appear insensible to suffering ; nay, so great is the renewed fervour of the Catholics that since the beginning of the persecution Masses have never been so frequently and fervently celebrated, nor so numerously attended, as they are at present, in every quarter of London. No one seems to shrink from danger, and if disturbed by the officers of justice, they scarcely care to do more than pass to the next door, where the Mass is resumed. In fact the damage which this persecution has done to the Protestant cause is such that they despair of ever recovering their losses." (Rec. Eng. Prov. S.J., Vol. VI., p. 77.) This account from the English College in Rome gives us a fair idea of the work of the Seminary Priests in England.

A letter from Dr. Allan will further illustrate the point. We see in it the dangers which assail the work of the Seminary Priests; dangers not only from without, but dangers also from within; there are the faint-hearted who in their cowardice would wreck the good work by attempting to terrify would-be missioners or make little of the successes of the priests in England. They strive to disseminate a pernicious propaganda and to influence even the Pope and Catholic Sovereigns against this missionary zeal. But the labours of the priests cannot be hid. Conversions are daily increasing, and their courage knows no bounds. Under the very nose of the Council the priests establish a flourishing press which sends out series of works in defence of the Faith, the energy of Father Parsons especially is noteworthy.

The original letter is in Latin and will be found in the Appendix. I here give the translation:—

Letter of the Ven. Dr. William Allan,
Rector of the English College in France,
to
Father D. P., Rector of the English College in Rome.

> " We have learnt by letters from Father Robert Parsons of your Society in Rome that the persecution continues with unabated fury and that Catholics are still seized and thrown into prison and in various ways molested and that the fathers of our Society are most diligently sought out; by a singular providence of God, however, they are still at large.
>
> " Not so long ago one of them was arrested in the same room in which Father Robert had slept; but the Father was not there at the moment.
>
> " A certain Bryant who had been an alumnus of our College at Rheims, who was living in an adjacent chamber, was taken together with the other, and has been twice tortured on the rack with extreme cruelty in order that he might reveal the whereabouts of that Jesuit. But so far was he from giving the slightest information, that he laughed at his torturers; and, although he was almost exhausted by pain, he said: ' Is this all you are able to do? If this indeed be your rack, bring hither a hundred

others for a similar cause.' The following day John Nicholas, the apostate, in open square came upon Father Tyrell, an alumnus of your College; whom when he did see the Father exclaimed a traitor, and the traitor captured him; but he was not cast into the Tower but into an other prison commonly known as the Gatehouse; and both he and Father Rishton also an alumnus of your College now dwell there with joy. Certes, never were Catholics more cheerful or more ready to suffer.

"Two days ago a certain Mr. Jaison was taken having in his possession ten of our apologias, hence it happened that the members of the Council saw these books, and whereas he had been discharged by reason of friendship from his former lodging in a prison called Fleet, he is now once more returned to it.

"The above-mentioned heretic John Nicholas boasts of having delivered a long oration in the presence of the Cardinals in Rome, which he has already brought to light in a second book of his. But nothing is farther from the truth. At the same time he has promised to publish that oration in its latin original and a pamphlet on pilgrimage in which he will expose the awful murders and adulteries of catholics and detail at length the most evil life of both Jesuits and students. Already this man preaches publicly in London; but in a short time he has disgusted every one, so that he will, I trow, soon take to his heels, especially when that abjuration of heresies which he made in Rome shall have reached England; for I have received that document which you sent in which is contained all his recantation, and I have posted it to Father Robert in England. Father Robert applied for three or four thousand or more Testaments, as many desire them. He says that he greatly longs for and often looks for the coming of the members of your Society and he tells me that all goes well there and that our Apologia is very well received. With these, I sent letters to the Supreme Pontiff and to the most Illustrious Protector which you will be careful to deliver. Indeed I give thanks to His Holiness for the many favours of this year, to wit, for the foundation of the English college in Rome, for our establishment here during fifteen years, for the extraordinary subsidy of five hundred gold pieces granted recently to each Protector for the work, and especially for not having given ear to the detractors of our Colleges and missions, who, in order that they might provide an excuse for their own idleness and cowardice, attempt unavailingly to throw discredit on our country; and I inform him that we have sufficiently ordered these missions so as to derive therefrom an incredible usefulness; and such is the energy of the Fathers and the Colleges that, strengthened by the opinion, feeling and experience of all good persons, I confidently assert and boldly proclaim that the Fathers and Priests have reaped more fruit for souls this year in their country than these same would ever have been able to reap in the whole circumference of the world and during the whole space of their lives however long that space might be.

" I write also that the dangers themselves are not so great that this work should be abandoned ; since, whereas we have sent at least fifty this year from the two colleges, not more than ten have fallen into the hands of enemies ; and our fathers are, up to this time, all at large and producing fruit. Finally, we have shown that our books have been written with such moderation of expression that nothing in them has been written from a spirit of indignation but rather of pity, whence arises the great utility which accrues to all classes from the reading of them. All this indeed was written to the Pontiff.

" This only do I write to the most Illustrious Protector, that he turn a deaf ear to certain idle and envious men, who say that the services of the Fathers and the Colleges in our country are useless, and I beseech him for Christ His sake that he forbid me not to send in the coming Autumn five or six young men to that College, pointing out to him that our number is growing so rapidly that they can in no way be fed by us, although His Holiness has relieved us with that extraordinary gift of five hundred gold crowns. Thus I (N.R.B.) am somewhat loath to send these few to him contrary to his express warning lest we appear to be taking too much for granted or to abuse too much of the Pope's liberality.

" We are obliged at this time to summon to this our College of Rhemes twenty young noblemen, mostly coming from Douay, who otherwise would be constrained to return to England with manifest danger to soul and body since owing to the law they can receive no money from England. Moreover within the space of fourteen days more than twenty youths have come to me from England. Woe is me ! Where shall we obtain loaves that these may eat, so that each one may receive a little, lest they faint in this exile ? May the Lord God bless us and multiply food unto us.

" I have learnt this week that the fathers in England not only enjoy good health, but are so busy in the Vineyard that they could not write to me ; and Father Campion is said to have edited a book in latin which is an Exhortation to both Universities (utramque academiam). But it has not yet come to hand. See, Father, whether they promote the cause or not. I have long since sent them the letters of the Rev. Father General. May the Lord Jesus send many such labourers into His Vineyard. Thirty priests at least have entered England after Easter; and not one of them was stopped in port or afterwards captured: blessed be God! This year will, as I hope, be a prosperous one for us every where: truly we sow in tears, but I put my trust in the Lord that, through God and this our very brother Gregory, we shall carry our maniples with joy.

"Staying with me at the present time is Mr. George Gilbert, the great companion and patron of the brethren and priests in England, and who for their sake has suffered the confiscation of very nearly all his goods and possessions, whom also the heretics have persecuted in his person more than all the rest, as they knew that it is by his endeavours that the fathers of the Society are kept & sustained. He betook himself hither to France by the advice of the Rev. Father Robert and others in order that he might keep himself safe *to this time*. He will go to Rome in the Autumn, please God, and will then dispose of himself according to the advice of the Rev. Father General and your own. He tells me that more Fathers are very much needed if only somewhat to relieve Father Robert, who bears, he says an incredible burden. It was he* who wrote those two most charming little books, one of which has been attributed to Father Campion or some other author; he preaches constantly & solves cases of conscience of innumerable men.† Catholics placed in the midst of persecutions have consciences less delicate than in any other place I know of, and thus they are drawn to the Fathers in such a way that they do not accept the judgment of an ordinary priest unless this judgment be confirmed by Father Robert. He has seven men continually working at the press which he has established out of London, lest the noise of this machine be heard in town. He is constantly appealed to for important advice by the Nobles and even by certain members of the Council: thus indeed I am informed by Mr. Gilbert himself who has been his special companion during the whole of this year, and who, on departing, left seven horses for the accomplishment of the necessary journeys and undertakings of the priests and fathers, and a great quantity of money necessary for the printing material, viz., paper, press, type, ink and the like : since great things cannot be accomplished except at a great cost, it is necessary that there be men of wealth, possessing at the same time a supreme contempt of money, who will provide lavishly for the work.

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* Father Parsons.

† Undoubtedly, this must be an allusion to the many cases of laxity wherein not a few were anxious to stretch their consciences to the utmost in order that they might escape the rigours of the law and at the same time enjoy peace of mind.

" Father Campion is not less industrious in his province and it is thought that there are twenty thousand Catholics more this year than last ; and at no time during these years has God given more power and fruit to the word of evangelisers.

" May His name be blessed for ever.

" Our Apologia, as I hear, is in the hands both of our adversaries and of our friends, and the Prince of this very wide embassy of France, who is called P. Dolphin, gave it to the Queen.

" Christ Jesus etc. Rhemes 23 of June 1581.
Of your Reverence, the eternal brother, as I hope,
on earth and in heaven,

" WILLIAM ALLAN."

(Dom. Eliz. Vol. 149, nn, 51 & 52.)

A work so arduous as that of the Seminary Priests must needs meet with serious opposition ; and this opposition is to be expected, not only amongst the enemies of the Catholic Religion, but even from within. Many are not unnaturally nervous of an undertaking which brings in its train so much danger and such horrible suffering. They say : " cui bono ? " Are the fruits commensurate with the sacrifices ? Are men of flesh and blood to be thrust alive into a cauldron of boiling pitch ? Can any one reasonably expect them to remain faithful to the Church ? Or does the training which they receive in the Seminary render them so strong that they are above all temptation ?

All this opposition was met and overcome with unflinching courage by Dr. Allen. He obtained the necessary pecuniary assistance, and candidates flocked to him in such numbers that even he was bewildered by the ever-increasing demands on his resources. The training which was provided for these young men was proved to be adequate, and by the grace of God they were enabled to encounter with the utmost fortitude all the trials of confessors for the faith.

What Dr. Allen tells us of the lax consciences of Catholics is certainly not to be understood of those saintly men who lived the lives of hunted hares, while spending themselves for the salvation of souls, and who so often suffered long and cruel privations in squalid dungeons, and were eventually done to death by torture.

So delicate indeed were the consciences of these martyrs that they would rather suffer a thousand deaths than offend in the least degree.

No, the allusion is to those Catholics like Lord William Howard, Sir Henry Weston, the Earl of Southampton, Sir Francis Browne, etc., etc., whose courage failed them when the supreme moment arrived and they sought refuge in mental reservations, which however could never receive the approval of honest men. We can understand how these men were not easily satisfied with the condemnation of the young priests just out of the Seminary. They hoped for more tempered judgment from the tried and experienced theologian and man of the world. We must not imagine that Father Parsons, any more than the Seminary Priests, could set their consciences at rest, but his superior learning and experience made him more sought after ; and often his advice helped somewhat to stem the torrent of persecution owing to the influence at Court of many of these secret Catholics.

There were yet in this Island vast numbers of people, as we have already seen, who were convinced Catholics. Many of these had suffered a great deal in their fortune and had remained firm, but there were many who wavered ; many again who conformed. It was the business of the priest when he landed in England to repair to the house of some Catholic family. He had, of course, his instructions before landing in this country, and he was not left to wander about without any definite goal or clear knowledge of the souls whom he had to seek out. Having found his way to the house in question arrangements were immediately made for assembling the Catholics in the district. It was not difficult for them to be found as their names were well known at the various centres where Mass was said. These centres were sometimes the houses of the rich, sometimes the houses of the poor, sometimes an inn or even a barn or a stable. They were not necessarily houses of Catholics, but as we have seen already in the course of this work, men living openly as Protestants with a secret leaning to Catholicism, not infrequently offered the shelter of their homes to the Catholic priest and assembled therein the faithful for Mass. It is a remarkable fact that although the owners of Sutton Park, near Guildford, had conformed to the new religion and had even the confidence of the Queen, all during the times of persecution priests made the Manor and its domain the rendezvous for Catholics of that district. It is said that once while Queen Elizabeth was on a visit there a priest was actually in hiding in the same house. As late as the year 1591 a certain Father Morgan was understood to be there in hiding and indeed to have frequented the place. Sir William More was ordered by the Council to make search for him "in the most secret and substantial manner and then to apprehend him if possible."

> "After or hearty comendacons. We are to require yr secrett and effectuall delaing in this cause. One Morgan sometymes of her maties chappell an obstinat and seditious papist, and suche a one as for good causes we would gladly have apprhended, hathe wandered in lurking sorte up and down this great whyle from place to place and is now thought to be in Sutton, either in or about Sr Henry Weston's house or at least yf he be not nowe there, it is knowen, that at tymes by startes he useth to come thither, in secret sorte, and perhaps not called by his right name. We require you in the most secrett and substantiall manner you can and at such tymes and by such meanes, as in yor own discretion you shall thinke moste meet, as soon as you can, to make diligent and earnest searche and enquirie for him and to apprhend him yf it possibly may be, and to advertise us thereof. You shall do good service in it wch we will hartily thanke you for. And so we bid you farewell. From the Court the XIIIth of June 1591.
>
> "Yor loving friends
> "D. WARLYS R. LEYCESTER
> SIS HATTON J. WALSYNGHAM.

Who this Father Morgan was, I have been unable to ascertain. There is in a list of Recusants at the Record Office for 1581 the name of Polidore Morgan imprisoned in the Gatehouse. Can it be that he was one of the Maryan clergy who was for a time imprisoned and then escaped? The clause "sometime of her Majesty's chapel" seems to indicate that he was a chaplain of Queen Mary. Or. of course, it might be that he had at one time conformed and been employed by Queen Elizabeth and then again recanted. What matters is that he was now living as a Catholic priest, and evidently risking his life for the Catholic cause. We have no further information about him.

The house of Sir Francis Browne at Henley, as we have already seen, was also a noted centre for Catholics. In fact it was never without three or four priests. Father Parsons wrote his censure of Charke and Hanmer in that house. Such was the courage of Catholics who remained faithful in those days that while meeting, it is true in secret, they did not fear to keep a goodly store of furniture necessary for the Divine Sacrifice, and they would not be deprived of the cheerful religious tinkle of the Sanctus bell. The Services in these holy trysting places were not curtailed because of the constant fear of raids from the pursuivants. Priests spent hours in the confessional and gave instructions to children and to adults, and at Mass it was their custom to preach to the assembled faithful. As we shall see in a document which I have copied from the original in the Record Office these assemblies were very numerously attended.

The priest did not confine his work to the shelter of some sympathetic home, but often by means of bribery offered to the jailers, often again under some disguise and assumed name, paid a visit to the gaols, administered the Sacraments to Catholic prisoners and brought them not only the ineffable comforts of their religion but also many gifts of food and clothing so much needed in those dens of suffering. Father John Gerard, S.J., tells us how in the dreaded Tower of London itself he had the unutterable joy of celebrating the Divine Mysteries.

The following is a document giving information which is of interest, as it traces the doings and wanderings of priests and describes the place where Mass is said at Hackney:—

> " Examination of Ralph Miller, prisoner in Bridewell, taken before Richard Young, giving information of names and abodes of English Recusants in France, Names of the Catholics resident in Rouen. Celebration of Mass at Lord Vaux's house.
>
> " 9ª die Octobris 1584 coram Richardum Young.
>
> " Ralph Miller Tailor aged 20 years was born at Tidival in the Peak and was apprenticed with one Whatmore a skinner without Temple Bar with whom he served six years and afterwards went into Flanders where he served as a soldier under Col. Norris by the space of one year and a half and from him went to Monseiur La Mote under whom he served half a year and from him went to Reims in France where one Thomas Bailey a priest persuaded him to stay, placing him with a tailor there named Upofer Turner born in Oxford with whom this exâint staid one year and half and went afterwards to Rouen, being sent by the said Bailey to work for all the papists there as Mr. Deacon, Mr. Norton, Mr. Jeffrey Poole who is thought there to be one that will make claim to the crown and hath 20 crowns monthly of the Pope; of whom Mr. Norton hath also 20 crowns a month. And there is Mr. Paunfote, alias Paris and Mr. Peters, a priest uncle to Sr. John Peters, Mr. Woodward and Mr. Clitherall, prest, two of the Lady Talbot's sons, one being of the age of 25 years and the other about 16 years and are under Mr. Delahne who hath also with him the Lady Pawlett's son being about the age of 18 years, and

two of the Manwaringes are servants of the Talbots aforesaid, and one George Stokar lacky or page to the Earl of Northumberland hath six crowns a month of the Pope, and there is Mr. Hopkins who made the book of meditations, one Bagshaw, a Darbyshire man, Mr. Shelton, Mr. Letherborow a merchant, Mr. Aldridge a priest, Thomas Clowdeley servant with the Nuns, Mr. Johnson and Mr. Foster priests, Mr. Starmy who liveth by his money, Mr. Gilford and his wife a maid and Cuthbert Helsington his servant, Mr. Norton's daughter and his man whose name is Leonard, Mr. Johnson Mr. Th—on hath two english men servants and Mr. Reynolds a priest who doth set forth the book against Whittacres, Mr. Deacon's man sometime a barber in England and Dr. Lewis son of Proctor Lewis, this exâint continued there half a year and did work to all those abovenamed and got with his work amongst them an 100 crowns at the least. And further he saith that there are Mr. Figge and Mr. Tailor, priests Mr. Marshall a Nottinghamshire man and his daughter, Mr. Chapman a married man and one Horwood (?) whose mother doth dwell in Paternoster Row married to one Parker. And the exâint came on from thence a fortnight after Midsummer being desirous to see his friends and to bring on two notes to Mr. Marshall's sons to understand in what order his lands stood and what leases he had made, and he promited this exâint bringing him an answer of those notes that he would bear part of his charges. And he brought one letter to Jeffrey Poole's wife living at a place called Lordington 6 miles from Chichester, and there came on with him one Hankin, Mr. Paunfote's man, Mr. Meredith, a priest born in Bristowe (who hath a brother that doeth serve Charles Arondell in Paris as he thinketh, and a schollar born in Warwickshire being blemished in his sight, And this exâint the scholler and Hankyn lay at Mr. Poole's and the priest lay at a gentleman's house near thereabouts, they tarried there but one night and left the priest there and the next night they went to bed to the Lady Pawlett's house which is 16 or 17 miles from Mr. Poole's and from thence to Bagshott and so to London to the Rederon in Blackfriars where he lay a senight and from thence went to Cook's house in Vannue Alley and lay there a fortnight, and during this time he bestowed himself in going to the Marshalsea and the Gatehouse, and spake with all the papists in both places, and he borrowed 10 sh. of Blount in the Marshalsea and from London he went to Barnet and so directly to Newark upon Trent, to Morcome to Mr. Raffe Marshall's son and there he delivered the notes that he had received from Mr. Marshall at Reams and lay at his house one night, and from thence he went to Raff Marshall the son of Marshall in Reams, who dwelleth at Carleton and there he lay a fortnight or three weeks and he borrowed of old Marshall 10s, from thence he went to his father's house in the high peak, there he tarried one week and his father gave him nothing, from thence he came to young Marshall's sons etc. He goes on to trace his wanderings. He afterwards met one Robert Browne, who hath an uncle a priest with the Lord Vaux, who is a little man with a white head and a little brown hair on his face, goeth in an ash colour doblet cut and a gown faced with conye and he was made priest long since at Cambray as this exâint thinketh, This ex̂. spake with the Lord Vaux and with his Lady at Hackney after that his son Mr. George and the said Robert Browne had told him that this ex̂. was a tailor at Reimes and on Sunday was fortnight this ex̂. did hear Mass there whereat were present about 18 persons, being My Lord's household and the priest last before named said the Mass, the said priest lieth in a chamber beyond the hall on the left hand the stair that leadeth to the chambers, and the Mass is said in the chapel being right on the porte entering into the hall and the way into it is up the stair aforesaid on the left hand at the further end of the Gallery and there is a very fair Crucifix of silver."

He proceeds to give a number of names of Priests and the various gentry who harbour them. He says: " he was at Mass also at Mr. Fenton's house in the parish of Hathersiche in the peak who also keepeth a priest in his livery and he testifies to having heard that there were seven score in a morning at his house at a Mass and at a sermon.

" One Garlick said he has four priests about him in one Morning. He was of opinion that there would soon be a change in the country as the whole country about them were catholics and very desirous of priests whereof there are a great store in High Peak. This exâint was told by one of these priests that they had rather fight than lose their living and there is one Cleyton and Bagshawe in Tieford parish that are great papists. The daily passage for papists is a little from Yarmouth in Norfolk where they pass and repass at their pleasure.

" There is a little fellow called Raff who is in England for Father Parsons is a great dealer for all the papists, he is a very slender brown little fellow of whom Harrington can tell more certainly.

" There is one Dick Stertyvan a Lancashire man who lieth about Southwark and is a great factor for the Seminary and one Hargreve is likewise a doer for them here." (Dom. Eliz. V. 173, n. 64.)

At Loseley we have a letter dated two years later than the above document; it is from Richard Young to Sir William More. In it he thanks Sir William for having searched the house of Mr. Francis Browne at Henley Park. We are informed that Browne has given way and Young says: "I am very glad that other men's harms make Mr. Browne wary." That is the kind of submission that this method secured in similar cases.

(*Los.* Vol. V. n. 33.)

"My very hearty Commendations remembered to your worships. These are to signify unto you that Mr. Secretary his honour giveth you very hearty thanks for your good assistance in the searching of Mr. Francis Brown his house at Henley Park. Mr. Browne hath been with me according to his bond or promise made unto you he hath brought with him one Anthony Medcalfe a man to me very known and being none of the parties of whose residence or abode their intelligence was given and therefore I discharged him praying your Worships that Mr. Browne may be also discharged of his bonds. I have also received the five books and passports mentioned in a note in your letters enclosed.

"I am very glad that other men's harms make Mr. Browne wary. I pray God all others may reform themselves according to her Maj's laws. And so resting at your commandments I cease to trouble you. At London this 9th day of August, 1586.

"Your worship's to command,
"RICHARD YOUNG.

"To
The Right Worshipful, my very good friends
Sir William Moore knight and
Mr. Lawrence Staunton, Esquire
or to either of them deliver thease."

Nevertheless Henley Park remained a resort for priests.

The work then of the priests was this: to feed the lambs that were in the Fold with the Sacraments and the Word of God, and to gather the straying sheep back into the Fold once more. Their work, as all can see, was extremely arduous and dangerous; but it was a work from which they reaped an immense harvest. Many a Catholic who had wavered and fallen away, when he saw these doughty champions of the Faith, hunted away from place to place, seeking shelter now under a hospitable roof, now in the woods and glens, and yet ever labouring with untiring zeal and cheerfulness for the cause of their Divine Master, became ashamed of their own cowardice, sought them out and were reconciled to that faith for which in many cases these erst-while waverlings gave up their life. So copious indeed was the harvest of spiritual fruits reaped during those years of labour that again we see a sign of the growing anxiety on the part of the persecutor in the order that was issued from the Council to the Magistrates and which I give below:— (*Los.* Vol. XII. n. 86,)

> "After our very hearty commendations to your good ll. and the rest: her majesty perceiving the notable backwardness and defection in Religion of late time grown generally amongst her subjects of this Realm, especially since the last liberty and leaning granted to such principal persons as were formerly committed to Elie and Broughton to remain at their houses and hath given strict commandment unto us to signify unto you her highness's pleasure that you fail not presently upon sight hereof to consider and make choice of the chiefest and most principal persons of the Recusants within that county of Surrey lately certified hither by you being of credit for their obstinacy and livelihood and likely to do hurt by their example, to be presently committed to the charge and safe keeping of some fit persons of hability and account and of good disposition in Religion within that County that will take charge of them for their safety, diet, bedding and otherwise at the cost of the parties so committed, not permitting any resort to be made unto them or to have conference, but with such as may be found meet to reform them by speech. But if happily there shall be found none such meet persons willing to receive them unto their custody as is abovesaid in this case you shall committ them to the common gaol or to some other place of safety purposely to be thereunto appointed with some fit persons to attend on them for their safety diet and otherwise at the charge of the parties and so praying your ll; etc. to take such extraordinary care in the due performance of the premiss according to her majesty's expectation and the great trust reposed in you advertising us speedily of your proceedings we bid your ll. etc. very hartily fare well. From the Court at Bysham the 13 of August, 1592.
>
> "Your ll, etc. very loving friends,
>
> "Jo. Puckering SS. W. Burghley C. Howard
> W. Cobham J. Buckingham Ro. Cecyll.

> "To our very good lords the L. Archbishop of Canterbury, the L. Admiral, the L. Bishop of Winchester, the L.
> and our very loving friends John Wolley, Esquire, one of her Maj. privy counsel, William Howard Esquire, Sir William Moore, Sir Francis Carew, Sir Thomas Browne, Knights, and to the rest of the commissioners for Recusants and Seminaries, etc. or to any three or more of them.
>
> "13 Augusti, 1592—Received the 19th of August, 1592. Surrey."

Considering the extreme peril of the times and the nobility of the cause of these Seminary Priests, we must not marvel greatly at the methods of disguise which they were driven to adopt, nor must we think that they were guilty thereby of sinning against the fifth Commandment. If they adopted aliases and gave misleading information, they were only following the examples of the Archangel Raphael when he accompanied Tobias on his journey and of Our Blessed Lord himself when he went up to Jerusalem although He had said that He would not go. An amusing story is told in the Manuscripts preserved at the Record Office in the following terms:—

> "A priest having perused the late supplication, and being demanded how he liked it, that now the Jesuits began to excuse her Majesty in all things, and commend her so highly; for answer told this tale—
>
> > "The Cat wanting her food because the mice kept their holes, became a politician. She put on the habit of a friar, and shaved her head. Thus attired, she walked up and down religiously expecting her prey. But yet, the mice no sooner peeped out, but knowing her well enough, straight whipt in again. Whereupon the Cat (espying one of them in the brink of the hole) bowed down so low, as the mouse might see her bald crown: and said to her very gravely:
> > "Quod fueram non sum frater, aspice tonsum:"
> > To whom the mouse answered:
> > "Est tibi cor idem:
> > Vix tibi praesto fidem." And into her hole.'"

(Dom. Eliz. Vol. 261. n. 99.)

Thus did the priest live, thus did they work, almost with certainty that their end would be in one of her Majesty's prisons or on the gallows. Yet, they came and as one after another was captured by the pursuers, more came to fill the breach. There seemed to be no fear in their hearts, and the sufferings of priests here in

England were only a stimulus to the zealous ambitions of those who were yet to come.

A really remarkable document, because it shows the carefully laid plans of the Catholic Clergy at that time and their wonderful union and almost constant intercourse with Rome, is the letter with which I close this chapter. It is from Dr. Allen, Rector of the English College at Rheims to Father White, then a prisoner in the Clink and to the rest of the priests in Newgate, the Fleet and the Marshalsea.

> "The copy of a letter written from D. Allen unto Mr. White a Seminary Priest in the Clink especially and to the rest of the priests in Newgate the Fleet & the Marshalsea.
>
> "Well beloved brother in our Lord, Mr. White, I greet you well with the greatest earthly comfort which you can enjoy in this transitory world. Amidst your great afflictions our holy Father Pope Sixtus by God's grace chief vicar here on earth hath sent unto you especially and to the rest of your brethren at this present endurance for the dest . . . . of our ancient catholic apostolic and romish church his Holy benediction, with this comfort that you shall shortly enjoy the society of our well beloved *D. Reynolds* chief Jesuit of our English College at Rhemes with the company of D. Wallford and *Gerat Bellamie* lately by our selves created priest who by God's grace will arrive in England about the tenth of May our desire by special commandment from his holiness is that they be securely and secretly provided for especially D. Reynolds as to you all with advice shall be thought most convenient whose discovery we assure you would be a great cause of joy unto all the heretics and enemies of God and the Catholic Church for D. Wallford, he will be well provided for in Oxford with Mr. Napper* a renouned and virtuous catholic for Geratt Bellamie his remaining will be best with some of his cousins in London by whom you shall receave divers consecrated Crucifixes hallowed lately by his holiness with other books by you to be impted to the chiefest catholics and your greatest benefactors.
>
> "This from Rhemes we commit you to God. Dated the tenth of this month of March.
>
> "Your undoubted patron, Rector of the english College at Rhemes.
>
> "JOHN ALLEN."

(Dom. Eliz. Vol. 238. No. 126II.)

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* These names appeared in the information of the spy Pettingat.

CHAPTER XIV.

INCREASED RIGOURS.

HITHERTO we have studied a considerable number of the Loseley documents relating to the persecution of Catholics up to the time of the defeat of the Spanish Armada. Now, it is not my object to discuss at length this very great historical event and I may say at once that I have no sympathy with the instigators of this attempt to invade our country; but as the subject is mentioned so often in documents preserved at Loseley, it would be a mistake to allow it to pass without any expression of opinion.

Let us take it as proved that the Pope was on the side of Spain and had blessed the endeavour of the Spanish to conquer this country. How would the question appeal to an unbiassed judge? A great number of Catholics are groaning under the weight of oppression so grievous, that nothing has equalled it in the history of the Church since the days of the great Roman persecutions. The Pope, the common spiritual Father of these multitudes of his children, tries by every peaceable means to alleviate their lot. Diplomacy is tried without success. Elizabeth, who at one time professed herself a subject of the Catholic Church, is reprimanded by Pope Sixtus and excommunicated with the result that Catholics are more grievously tormented than before. Close at hand there is a great Catholic power full of impassioned love for the Catholic Faith, and having no small reasons for quarrel with the Protestant Elizabeth. I say advisedly no small reason for quarrel, because were not her buccaneers constantly pirating the high seas, capturing the Spanish galleons and murdering their crews? Small wonder that the Pope under these circumstances thought it a glorious opportunity for bringing succour to his suffering children. On the other hand if Catholics in England had given their full consent to this manner of assistance, it seems to me that it would be mere hypocrisy to say that they had been guilty of any crime. How different, however, were the facts from what we should have expected them to be! While ever remaining steadfast in their loyalty to the Holy See; while showing their readiness to shed their blood for that Faith which came from Rome, their deep rooted love for their country and their devotion to their Queen fired them with such a zeal for the defence of their country against the threatened invasion, that all thought of relief from thier present misfortunes was brushed aside in their overwhelming desire to serve as true patriots. It is this loyalty that has drawn admiration from many an historian not otherwise inclined to agree with the Catholic position. "Catholic Lords brought their vessels up alongside of Drake and Lord Howard and Catholic gentry led their tenantry to muster at Tilbury," these are the words of Green.

Many a time in after years Catholics were taunted in the courts with the ill-fated Spanish Armada, with the efforts of the Pope to smash the Protestant power, and with the aid that they in England were ready to give to the Spaniard. But over and over again they protested their loyalty to Queen and country, even asserting that if the Pope himself were to come with an army to invade this country, while still remaining staunch Catholics they would fight on the side of their own countrymen. It was quite clearly understood that whatever the Pope may have done or thought expedient in a matter of temporal policy he did not wish to bind Catholics in England to an acceptance of that policy; and if as a temporal sovereign it had been possible for him to lead the invasion in person it is sound theology to say that English Catholics would still be at liberty to oppose him. This is the view that Catholics have always held and that the Church has sanctioned. It is also the view that Catholics in England have defended in the days of persecution when before their accusers. Of course from time to time there have been desultory efforts on the part of conspirators to overthrow the reigning power. Sometimes their motive was the highest, as in the case of a persecuting sovereign and court, sometimes their motive was not so laudable. I do not propose to enter into the moral question of conspiracies of this nature; but what we find in the history of the XVIth, XVIIth, and XVIIIth Centuries during which time the Catholic Church was subjected to the bitterest persecutions is that these conspiracies were always confined to a very small minority, and that the vast numbers of the faithful remained loyal to the reigning Government. Amongst the documents at Loseley is one of interest in this connection. It is only a fragment, the greater portion having been destroyed and parts of the remaining portion have become illegible. It bears the date of the 30th July, 1588. It is an examination of a certain Tristram Winslade, a Catholic of a very distinguished family in Devonshire. I gather that this examination was made under compulsion and that he was in prison at the time. He died at Douay on the 23rd November, 1605, and in the third Diary of the Douay College is the following entry:

> "Die 23 Novembris pie hac vita defunctus Tristramus Winsladus Nobilis, postridie sepultus est solemniter in sacello B. Virginis apud D. Jacobum, pro nobilitate generis supra facultates."

> "*A fragment.*
>
> "The examination of Tristram Winslad taken the 30th of July 1588.
>
> "In primis he saith that he was born in the Co. of Devonshire and heretofore served Sir John Arundel knight but whereas after the execution of Cuthbert Mayn Sr John fell into trouble he departed into the parts beyond the seas for no other reason, as he saith, but for that he was a Catholic. He went first into the Low Countries and so into Germany and into Italy and from thence into Spain where he was staid at Barcelona for that he was an Englishman, but being known to be a Catholic he was relieved.
>
> "About years past when Sir John Arundel was first troubled he went into Ireland and so into France, Germany and Italy. About the same time his father alive, named Wm Winslade departed out of Cornewell into Britany and from thence into Spain and when the K. of Spain was in Portugal he was a sutor to have a pension of the K. because he had served the K. father in his wars; which was granted; but he received no part of it during his life, for he died in Lisbon.
>
> "At the last coming of this deponent into Spain by the means of Sir Francis Inglefield testifying that he was the son of the said Wm, he obtained the said pension at which was about £5. . . . .
>
> "Their intent was to have invaded and conquered England, that the Spanish Navy should keep the seas while the Duke of Parma came in and this Examinat thinketh the Duke of Medina had no commission by land.
>
> "Their speach was to have landed as near London as they could and to have rifled it and at their first coming, not to have spared any man alive.
>
> "Dn Pedro de Valdes his opinion was that the fleet should have kept the seas still to have brought in victuals & and other necessaries to the prince.
>
> "There is great preparation made at the Groine for victuals and likewise at Biskey which are to be brought over by such

> ships and hulks as should be taken up. One Dn Andrewes de Alma was sent to the Groine to make the said provision.
>
> "They thought themselves to be able well enough to recounter the Queen's Navy and suppose themselves to be the stronger for that their ships were greater in bulk and well furnished with men.
>
> "The number of their ships little and great which went out of Lisbon was about 152.
>
> "Don Pedro de Valdes is about fifty years of age hath served on the seas into the Indges, Florica, Lerica, and about 20 years since had the conveying of certain ships out of Spain in Flanders.
>
> "He was staid at Plymouth and feasted by
>
> "He saith that his intention was coming with him to do as much good as he could, for that he was never given to cruelty, he protested that he is a Catholic, but otherwise a true Englishman and ready to die for her Majesty and his country against any invasion that the Pope or any others shall make against England.
>
> "He saith that there is some 30 ships preparing now in Lisbon which are to come to take their victuals at the Groine which were not to come from thence before that they had heard from this navy whether they should come.
>
> "He saith that at his departure it was said in Spain that the Pope had given to the King of Spain the Kingdom of England and it was said that unless the K of Spain should get this Realm he might lose the Indies besides his trouble in the Low Countries.
>
> "He saith he remembereth at this time no more if any thing come to his mind he will discover it.
>
> "There was a speach in Lisbon that the Duke of Gapre was in Picardie with a great many soldiers and that he should the Spaniards in this enterprise." (*Los.* Bundle 1581 to 1600.)

What Winslade said about his loyalty was to be said with truth about the vast majority of Catholics in those days. They deserved much at the hands of their fellow countrymen; they were far greater heroes than any other Englishmen, because not only were they ready to sacrifice their lives in defence of this realm but this readiness on their part came at a time when this realm had treated them with the utmost cruelty, had outlawed them and refused to consider them as of the pale.

What was the return made to them for their devotion? It was not long delayed. It came in the form of a Royal Commission.

Another series of oppressive decrees increasing the rigours under which Catholics groaned. We are not surprised to find that the reason for these additional hardships is attributed to the number of "Seminaries, Priests, and Jesuits," who have come into this realm of "malicious purpose to seduce divers of our people from their duty to God and to us, and to renounce their allegiance and to adhere to the King of Spain and the Pope whensoever they should offer to attempt any invasion against our realms." I say we are not surprised because of the persistent practice of the Government in those days of keeping no faith with Catholics.

From the point of view of the politician the Spanish Armada was an excellent opportunity for invective against an enemy, and it was used with terrible effect in besmirching the Catholic cause. It was the kind of platform argument or what we would now call the electioneering poster that would appeal to the great multitudes of the people. In such matters very few are discerning and take any trouble to ascertain the real merits of the case. Provided a calumny is presented in a sufficiently sensational manner and that it is repeated often enough it is bound to obtain credence in the end.

At Loseley there are two documents signed and sealed giving this Royal Commission. One dated the 14th January in the 34th year of Elizabeth, the other dated the 23rd day of November, the 34th year of Elizabeth. I have copied the latter, the former being very much destroyed. (*Los.* Bundle, Recusancy 1380.)

The Commission.

> "Elizabeth by the grace of God Quene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith. To the Reverend Father in God, Thomas Bishop of Wynchester, And to our right trusty and right welbeloved Counsailor Charles Lord Howard high Admirel of England, to our right trusty and welbeloved John Lord Lumley, Thomas Lord Burghe, and likewise to our trusty and welbeloved Will. Howard Esquire, Sir William Moore knight, Sir Francis Carewe knight, Sir Thomas Browne, knight Marten, Heton, Dean of Winchester, Michaell Reyniger, Archdeacon of Winchester, William Saye, Chancellor to the said Bishop Thomas Vincent, Thomas Slyfeild, Richard Bostock, George Moore, Lawrence Stoughton, John Agmondesham, Robertt Levesey and John Parker, Esquires greting. Whereas of late we have by proclamacion published our determination to appointe certain Commissioners in every Shire, Cittie and poste townes, to enquire diligently of the secret repair onto our Realme of a nomber of Seminaries, priests and Jesuits, of malicious purposes to seduce

divers of our people from their duty to God and to us, and to renounce their allegiance and to adhere to the King of Spaine and the pope whensoever they should offer to attempt any invasion against our Realms. We mineding the execucion of suche our determination and of sonderye other poyntes mete to be executed (as more att large contayned in our said declaracion) and reposeinge great truste in your approved fidelitie wisedom and good zeale you bear to the quietued of our realme, and to extype the daungerous practises of such papisticall traitors, have theirfore made speciall choise of you to be our Counsellors giveinge to you or any three or more of you fullpower, and aucthoritie by all good means as well accordinge to the articles hereunto annexed as otherwise to inquire try search and examine within the County of Surrey and all partes thereof as well within liberties as without, what psons have come from beyond the seasinto this our Realm, since the feast of St. Michaell tharchaungell in the two and thirtieth yere of our reigne, or of any other parsons that doe reside in any part of that Countie or elsewhere that probably by their behaviour, and manner of life or otherwise maye be suspected to have come from beyond the seas in the qualitie and vocation of Seminaries preistes Jesuits or fugitives thoughe disguised to hide their qualities and vocation or that are instruments sent by the Pope or by any of the English Seminaries or Colleges to labor to corrupt our people in matter of religion contrary to our lawes established for that purpose or to move or stirr them to adhere to the Pope, the King of Spayne, or any their confederates or dependants enemies to our states and such psons so justlye to be suspected to apprehende and examine straightly of their conversion for some reasonable tyme paste and if you shall finde any of them justlye so upon their examinacons or by lawfull accusacons, and proves of others, to be culpable or duly to be suspected of such disloyalties as above is menconed, you shall committ them to prison, and accordinge to the order of our lawes you shall cause them to be pceeded on by waie of inditement and arraignments for the same their treasonable actions to the due punishment of them accordinge to their deserts without contending with them for their conscience in matter of religion otherwise than to cause them to be treated withall charitably and informed for their conversion by discreet psons of good reputation and well learned in divinitie And in like manner you or any three or more of you shall cause inquisicon, and examinacon to be made as aforesaid of all manner of psons that have heretofore given or shall hereafter give assistance succor or relief, in diet, lodging, pencon, rewarde, or in any other sorte to any of the foresaid malefactors. And whereby our lawes the same parsons maye be charged with such unlawfull maynetenaunce or favour, after that they shall have knowledge of the pverse and traitorous qualities of suche malefactors You or any three or more of you shall also cause them, and every of them to be pceeded withall accordinge to our lawes as bettors aiders and mainteynors of the foresaid principall offenders And for the more speedy execution of justice against all such malefactors according to the qualities of their offences wee do straightly charge and comaund all our Justices of our Benches all other our Justices of the Laws our Sergeant, our Attorney, and Solicitor generall, and all other learned in the laws of our realme, and all other Justicies of peace and Officers of justice whose advise you shall have cause to require to be aidinge and assistinge to you, bothe for the Inquisicon, examinacon and orderlye prosecution by lawe against such suspected parsons bothe accessaries and principall so as there be noe delaye nor necligence used but that suche daungerous psons whoe labor by cunninge and color of religion noethinge more then sedicon and treason and the ruyne of all good subjects maie be speedilye suppressed.

"As witnes whereof we have caused these our letters of Commission to be sealed with our great seale Witness our self att Weston the thre and twentith daye of November, in the foure and thyteth yere of our raigne

" : powle

"Commissionaries virtute warranti Regii."

As we see from this, not only were priests and Jesuits to be arrested, but "fugitives" who having gone to the Continent for the safety of their religious exercises have returned thence into their country, and all those who had at any time given "assistance, succour, or relief, in diet, lodging, pension, reward or in any other sort to any of the foresaid malefactors." The wording of the Commission was designed to give the impression that this was not an enactment for the persecution of men on account of their religion. It was for that reason that so much was made of the Pope as a foreign power and the King of Spain as the avowed enemy of this country. It was designed to foster in the minds of English Protestants the belief that all Catholics must by reason of their obedience to the Holy See, be traitors to their country. Priests ordained in Seminaries abroad were stigmatised as instruments sent by the Pope "to labour to corrupt our people in matter of

Religion "—or again, " to move or stirr them to adhere to the Pope, the King of Spain, or any of their confederates or dependents enemies to our States." It is easy to imagine how these words would fire the average Englishman to indignation and hatred against people that could be so false to their country. So cleverly did the device work and so constantly was it used and has it ever been used even up to modern times that Catholicity and disloyalty have been to the average English Protestant synonymous terms.

This point was still further accentuated by the articles which were attached to the Commission and which I now give.

> " Articles annexed to the Commission for a further instruction to the Commissioners how to proceed in execution thereof.
>
> " First, you to whom the Commission shall be brought, shall without delay notify to the rest of the Commissioners that shall be in the County, or that may shortly repair thither, the receipt of the said Commission, with some signification of the contents thereof. And shall require them to meet at some convenient time and place to consider contents thereof, and thereupon to accord upon sundry days and places in every quarter of the shire ordinarily to meet about the same, so as now at the beginning, the oftener that they shall meet, the same shall be the better ; and after your first meeting, you may according to the quantity of the shire, make some partitions amongst yourselves, to execute the commission with more ease : And yet you shall once every forty days for this present year, assemble all together to confer upon your several proceedings, so as you may once every quarter give knowledge to her Majesty's Counsel of your actions.
>
> " Item you shall send to the Bishop or Ordinaries of the Diocese and to his Chancellor and Official and to the Archdeacon in the same to certify you of all persons, with their dwelling places, whom they shall know to have been presented to them as Recusants and that do so continue in their recunsancy. And the like Certificate you shall require from the Custos Rotulorum, or the Clerk of the Peace and from the Clerk of the Assize of the County, to know such as have been presented and endited as well women as men, and what process hath been set forth against them ; likewise you shall by any means inform yourselves of all such as within the County are commonly noted to be receivers and comforters of persons that are suspected to have come from beyond the seas, as Seminaries, Priests, Jesuits, or Fugitives, and after that you shall be duly informed by these

or any other means of such persons to be suspected, as principal offenders or accessories, you shall retain to your selfe secretly the names of the same, without any publication thereof, until you shall afterwards find probable and good cause to warn any of them to come before you, or otherwise to apprehend, and examine them according to the contents of your Commission.
" *23rd Nov.* (1591) *in the 24th of Our reign.*

" Item in your examinations of any persons by vertue of this Commission you shall not press any persons to answer to any questions of their conscience for matters of Religion, otherwise than to cause them answer, whether they do usually come to the Church, and why they do not and if you shall perceive that they are wilful Recusants, then you shall examine them upon any matters concerning their allegiance to her Majesty, and of their devotion to the Pope, or to the King of Spain, or upon their maintenance of any Jesuit, seminarie priest or other person sent from Rome or from any parts beyond the seas, to dissuade any subjects, from their obedience toe the Queen's Majesty.

" And to give you some particular instruction on what sort you may conceive convenient questions, whereupon to examine persons that are to be suspected to adhere to the Pope, or to the King of Spain, contrary to their duty of allegiance, you may observe the form of these questions hereafter following.

" The question ensuing to be answered by oath by such as shall be verily suspected to have been moved to give assistance to the forces of the Pope, or King of Spain, when they shall happen to invade this Realm, whereby such wicked seduces may be discovered.

" Whether have you been moved, by any, and by whom and when, and by what persuasion, to give aid or relief, or to adhere to the forces of the Pope or King of Spain, when they should happen to invade this Realm, for any cause whatsoever ?

" The questions following to be ministered without oath to discover such as shall be suspected to be Priests, Seminaries, or Fugitives, dangerous to the State.

" Whether have you been at Rome, Rheimes, or in Spayne at any time within these five years, when returned you last into this Realm, and to what purpose, and where have you been ever since your coming from thence.

" Be you a Jesuit or Priest made after the Romish order, where and when were you so made priest and by whom.

" Have you been at the Sems or Colls for the English, Welsh or Irish nation, at Rome, Reimes, in Spain, or elsewhere, how long were you in any of them, and when were you last sent from any of them into England or Wales, and to what end ?

"Item where by her Majistie's late Proclamation, whereof you shall take knowledge, it is ordered that all manner of psons of what degree soever they be without any exception, Spiritual or Temporal, and so forth shall make particular inquisition of all manner of persons that have been admitted and suffered to have resort, diet, lodging, etc., within the space of one year past, etc., if you shalbe informed of any such person to have beene so lodged or comforted, etc., as in the Proclamn is at large expressed : in such case you shall require the partie that is appointed to make such inquisition, to deliver the same inquisn to you in writing, and thereupon you shall doe your best to crie out if there have bene any suspected so lodged or comforted by the said partie appointed to make the inquisns and him you shall demannd to be delivered to you, to bee committed and further used according to his desert.

"Item because the Commission is sent into all other Shires of the Realm, and like instructions annexed thereto as these are, and that you may percase (per casum) be informed of some persons meete to be apprehended or examined, which are gone out of that Sire into some other partes, or doe remaine in places out of the Jurisdiction of your Commission : In such cases we require you to send secretly knowledge thereof to the Commers of the Countries where you shall think such suspected persons doe remaine, requiring them in her Majesties name to use all diligence for the apprehension of such and by such information as you shall give them to examine the parties and to proceed against them according to their Commission.

"Item you shall doe well to make choyce of some persons of honest behaviour and loyall in religion in every quarter of the Shire, and especially in every Post towne, Market towne, or great large parish, and where the Parsons or Vicars are faithful and carefull over their Cures to joyne together, with charge to observe all such as refuse obstinately to resort to the Church, and such persons you shall call before you, and without dealing with them for their recusancie (for which they are to be otherwise by law punished) you shall (as you shall in your discretion thinke meete respecting the qualities of their persons) require them to answere to the two former questions, or to eyther of them, for that by their recusancie they doe give cause of suspicion to be disloyall in their dueties to the Queenes Majesties, and the state, or to favour the *common* enemies."

Note how those who conformed to the religion dictated by Elizabeth, alone were " persons of honest behaviour and loyal in religion." How galling was this to true-hearted English Catholics! But yet, as we shall see later, the cruelty of this accusation and the increased barbarity with which the Government treated Catholics only served to increase their courage and determination and multiplied the more the martyrs for the faith.

There is a strange difference made by the law between some questions which are to be answered on oath and others for which an oath is not required. The questions to be answered on oath are those which relate directly to formal treachery in giving aid to the forces of a foreign power. The questions for which an oath is not required relate first of all to the status and journeyings of priests and their purpose in coming to this country.

The reason for this difference is that all questions asked for this latter purpose were to be taken as evidence sufficient for conviction. It has been said that Elizabeth never intended her laws to be carried out with that severity and rigour expressed by the documents. It would be of real historical value to have reliable testimony bearing out this view. It is not the impression which one gathers from the documents before us. We scarcely ever come across the shadow of a protest, or distinguish the echo of a soft note of pity. Rather must we interpret the mind of the Legislator by the lavish encouragements which were given to those who executed her will with such persistent cruelty. Elizabeth was no puppet; and, if cruelty had been distasteful to her, she would have said so; and the methods of the Star Chamber would very soon have been altered.

Previous to the publication of this Commission, the Council had written to the Commissioners to make certain that none of their number was disaffected in religion and that they had no relatives known recusants, or that they harboured in their houses no persons " known or suspected to be backward in religion." This certainly did not look as though the Council intended the forthcoming Commission to be carried into effect in a half-hearted manner. We have at Loseley the answer of Sir William More to the Council's enquiry.

" *Vol. V., No.* 43.

> " With remembrance of our duty unto your honble lordships. Whereas you have by your letters signified your good pleasure unto us to be advertised whether there be any in the Commission concerning Jesuits, lately to us amongst others directed, which

are known unto us or may be justly suspected to be unsound in religion or which have their wives, children or any of their families known recusants or do harbour in their houses any persons known or suspected to be backward in religion: It may Please your Lordships to understand that Sir Thomas Browne, Thomas Slyfield, Thomas Vincent, George More, Nicholas Saunders, Richard Bostock, Lawrence Stoughton, John Agmondisham, Robert Livesey, John Parkes being those which are joined with us in the said Commission and have served already in the execution thereof, are well known unto us to be men sound and well affected in religion to God and devoted in all duty to the service of her Majesty. And where also your Lordships would be informed whether the number of the commissioners already appointed be not sufficient or not so placed for their habitations, as they may devide the service by members in either quarter of the County as by the Commission and instructions is prescribed or whether there be not others in this County (fit to be employed) omitted in the said Commission and for their dwellings meet to be added and used in this service, it may like your Ls to be advertised that Dr Heton, dean of Winchester, Dr. Reyniger, Archdeacon there and Mr. Say Chancellor to the L. Bish of Winch. are not resident within the shire and by means thereof not serving with us. We think it fit for the furtherance of this her Majesty's service to name unto your Lordship John Read, Edmond Bowyer, Francis Angier, William Walter esquires to be placed in the said Commission, knowing them to be both for soundness in religion and the places of their habitation very meet to be joined with us and employed in the said service. And thus we beseech God long to preserve your Lps with much increase of honour.

"At Leatherhead the 4th of January 1591.

"At your honourable Lordship's commandment,

"W. Howard.
"Wyllam More.
"Francys Carew.

"To the Right Hon. the
Lords and others of her
Highness's most hon.
Privy Council."

The Surrey Commissioners appear to have been quite zealous in the performance of these duties imposed upon them. The following letter of Mr. Saye, Chancellor to the Bishop of Winchester refers us to the sources whence we may derive information of their doings.

Vol. V., No. 49.

"*Chancellor Wm Say to More.*

"*Archdeacon of Surrey to make return of Recusants.*

"18*th Sept.* 1591.

"Most humble commendations premised etc. I have received letters from divers worshipful the Justices of the Peace in the County of Surrey dated at Leatherhead the 7th of this month and left at my house in mine absence upon Thursday last, the contents whereof were to require me as chancellor to the L. Bishop of Winton, to certify unto their worships the names of all such persons as well men as women with their dwelling places which have been presented unto me as Recusants and do continue in their Recusancy. May it please your Worships together with the residue to be advertised that in our Records here at Winton we have not the names of such Recusants but Mr. Archdeacon of Surrey and his officials Mr. Doctor Rydley or Dr. Hone in their usual visitation do make Inquisition in that behalf with whom and with their Register Mr. Blackwell the names of all such Recusants do remain, by reason that by composition really all or the most part of ecclesiastical jurisdiction is exercised by these officers in these and the like cases within the county of Surrey. May it therefore please your worships to accept this mine answer and direct your order to Doctor Hone, Doctor Ridley and their Register who have the custody thereof. So humbly I take my leave Winton 18 December 1591

"Your Worships in the L. assured

"William Say.

"To
The Right Worshipful Sir Wm Moore, knight,
M. George Moore esquire or to either of them
be these.
"ded
"At Loselye near Guildford."

It would be interesting therefore to turn to one of these reports alluded to by Chancellor Saye. Let us give that of Dr. Rydley.

Vol. V., No. 58.

"A list drawn up on the 27th Dec. 1591 by Thomas Rydley Dr. of Civil Law, entitled :—

"A true Certificate made by Thomas Ridley, Doctor of Civil Law and Official to Mr. James Cottington, Doctor of Divinity and Archdeacon of Surrey, made unto the Right Worshipful the Commissioners appointed by our Sovereign Lady the Queen high Majesty for the County of Surrey for the inquiring forth of such persons as refuse to come to Church to hear devine service according to the tenor of certain letter to the said Doctor Rydley in the behalf from the said Commissioners directly bearing date the eighth day of Dec. 1591 hereafter followeth.

"In the Certificate made between the Feasts of the Nativity of Our Lord God 1590 until the Feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist then following being in this present year 1591 is certified as followeth which said certificate was delivered to Mr. Austen of Guildford a Midsummer last as all other certificates made touching Recusants within the Archdeaconry of Surrey were likewise before that time delivered to the said Mr. Austen.

"*Dr. Rydley's Certificate of Recusants* 1591.

"*Witley*—William Sherlock which they (the inquisitors) have often presented, as is known, for not coming to C. but no reformation.

"*Chertsey*—Mrs. Studdolph and her son Mr. John Studdolph of the Ham.

"*Lambeth*—John Jarrett of Lambeth. Marsh and Widow Brewar of Stockwell.

"*Witley*—id. Will Sherlock ut supra.

"*Send*—John Staunton and Thomas Boroughe—refuse to be absolved from excommunication.

"*Chertsey*—id. ut supra

"*Lambeth*—id. ut supra

"*Cobham*—Cuthbert Gyllett and Jone his wife excom. refuse absolution.

"*Cobham*—Richard Williamson minister, Robert Sutton, Richard Goddard, Churchwardens and Nicholas Foster, sidesman, do present Cuthbert Gyllet and Jone his wife for standing excommunicated ever since Good Friday last past and are contented still to stand excomd regarding none order of release or order to conform themselves to her highness's Laws and proceedings which is a great presumption they favour not the Gospel but live as fautors and favourers of the Contrary and are in deed in the very nature of Recusants, They never communicated in their parish these five years now come Michaelmas next.

"*Mitcham*—Mrs. Anne Whittney

"*St Saviours*—Ralf C e and Elizabeth his wife.

"*Ewell*—Eliz. Browne wife of Cuthbert Browne.

"*Bentlye Green*—Ed. Burgeis (a servingman to Mr. Hyde) in Barkshire having a house in Bentley. Professes his willingness however to come to Church.

Ed. Hill minister, Wm. Reaves and Jo. Beale Churchwardens to present one Ed. Burgess a serving man unto one Mr. Hyde in Barkshire having a house in Bentley and seldom cometh unto his house but never came to their parish Church, his wife hath sometimes used the Church and more oftner would as she saith but having two little children twins and one other child and not able to keep any servants in her let the said Ed. Burgess hath said that he is willing to resort to the Church if he might have time to stay.

"*Ockham*—none.

"*Cobham*—Cuthbert Gyllet and Jone his wife.

"*Battersey*—Miss Englefield.

"*Wandsworth*—Michael Owen and his wife.

"*Lambeth*—Baron Harcott and his wife, William Warren gent, widow Brewar (of Stockwell)

"*S. George's in Southwark*—John Gray gent 'absolutely refuseth to go to Ch. to hear devine serv. being demanded thereunto by them all.'

"*Cobham*—Cuthbert Gellett and Jone his wife.

"And it may please your Worships further to understand the cause why so few be presented within the Archdeaconry of Surrey is by reason the Churchwardens do not bring in their bills of presentments themselves quarterly to the Regester, but send them up by strangers, who know nothing of the matter so that the Regester cannot confer with them about their presentments which be made very imperfectly. And therefore if it would please your worships at your next Session to take further order that one of the Churchwardens or sidemen at the least might come to the said Register with their bills of presentments every Quarter, there would more be presented than be."

It is to be observed in this report that there are not very many recusants remaining. The law seems to have been applied to some effect in these parts. Are we to suppose that in the whole of Lambeth there were but four recusants left; and that in St. George's, Southwark, there was but one? I think that there is an explanation for this extraordinary paucity of numbers. First of all we can see that the churchwardens in the various parishes were anxious to make it appear that their districts had been purged of recusancy as far as possible, and therefore they only seized on isolated cases. We must not imagine that this hue and cry could be maintained with any very great enthusiasm for so many years and doubtless after a time people became weary of a hunt which brought them less and less profit. As the fortunes of the recusants were thinned out there was less to be gained by raiding their abodes and so it happened that many were left in peace for a time on account of their extreme poverty. However it must not be forgotten that by this time the gaols of England were bursting with a population of Catholics, and if some of these Churchwardens were able to boast of their freedom from Catholics, it was that these latter had either been done to death through disease or starvation or had been sent to end their days in the squalor of some wretched dungeon. At Bentley Green, " Edward Hill, Minister, William Reaves and Jo. Beale, Churchwardens do present one Edward Burgess a serving man unto one Mr. Hyde in Barkshire, having a house in Bentley, and seldom cometh unto his house but never came to their parish church, his wife hath sometimes used the church and more oftener would as she saith, but having two little children twins and one other child and not able to keep any servants in her let, the said Edward Burgess hath said that he is willing to resort to the Church if he might have time to stay." Eloquent words! How much do we learn from them. There is no pity for the " two little children twins and one other child," or for the poor woman should the husband have the courage to follow his conscience. There is no pity either for Widow Brewar of Lambeth. Against persecution of this kind it is only the stronger that will remain firm.

However, it is not necessary to enlarge very much on this absence of names from the Register of Catholics. Dr. Ridley himself has remarked on it.

There is a lack of business methods with the Churchwardens; they " do not bring in their bills of presentments themselves quarterly to the Register, but send them up by strangers, who know nothing of the matter so that the register cannot confer with them about their presentments which be made very imperfectly." Hence we are told that at the next session of the Magistrates one of the Churchwardens or sidesmen at the least should be ordered to come with their bills of presentments every quarter then " there would more be presented than be." This therefore gives us the explanation we need for the following certificates for the years 1591, 1592. I have merely mentioned the names of most of the parishes because they report that there were no " Jesuits, seminaries, fugitives, recusants or dangerous persons" in their exemplary congregations. The only blot apparently on the Frensham parish is "a blynd man who by means of his impotent age frequentithe not our Church."

Certificates for the year 1591.

Anno Regnei tricessimo quartuor et septum die machii.

"*Frimley.*—We psente unto yor worshipps that there is no Jesuits, Seamenaryes, fugitives, nor Recusants, but all is well in our tithing.

"By me

"RICHARD LLOYD CLEARKE.
"ANTHONY COW.

"*Dorkinge.*—Within our parishe we have not yet found any Jesuit Seminarie priest popish fugitive or recusant.

"Your worship's at commandement
"STEPHEN RICHMAN
"EDWARD SACKVILLE
"JOHN WADE
"WILLIAM HEATHER.

"*Alford.*—Wee whose names bee underwritten do certify by these pnte that to or knowledge, there be no Jesuits, Seminaries, fugitives, Recusants, neither receyvers of any such suspected parsons in or parish, as is contened in her Maties comission. In witnes whereof hereunto wee have sett or hands the VIIth daye of Marche anno dmni (? computaceom anglicana) 1591.

"per me GUILIELMO FAWDEN
"Rectorem eccliae ibidem
"RYCHARD DYDOLFFOLD."

Others in the same tenor are written from Peperharow, Shere, Haselmere, Westclandon, Wonersh, Wooton, Puttenham, Seale, Dunsfold, Thursley; Guildford, however, report as follows on VII° die Meii 1591.

"We whose names are underscribed do psent that Willm Ridall als Rider and his wife sometymes abidinge in the quenes maties manner house wthin her highnes' psh of Guildeford and sometymes at Send in the same Countie of Surrie are Recusants and so have contynued two years and more."

Reports from Compton, East Clandon, Horsell have no news of Catholics.

The inquisitors of Frensham think well to show their diligence by saying that whereas they are unable to find any Jesuits, Seminary prists, recusants or their favorers there is nevertheless one Mr. Garnet " a blynd man who by means of his impotency and age frequentithe not our church."

Bysleye, 1592, Stoke no recusants, etc.

Easthorsley say " we psent the Lady Katheryne and Sir Bryton who as yet cometh not to the Churche."

Thursley, Ockley, Abinger, Albury, Ockham, Ashe, Stoke—no recusants.

Westhorsley " did present one Elizabeth Richebell the daughter of Jeffery Richebell as a recusant for yr contrary to lawe and order she absented her selfe from church. She is now departed or sayde prishe but whether we knowe not, other Jesuits Seminary fugityves or dangerous psons to the state we know none."

Cranleigh, West Clandon, Chiddingfold, Durford, Hambledon, none.

Compton again distinguishes itself in the year 1592 by reminding the magistrates that Mr. Garnet " a blynde man resorteth not to our church by means of his Impotency and age."

Egham (in Sussex), Peperharow, East Clandon (thank, God that all in our parish are comformable to his majesty's laws), Puttenham, Merse, Windlesham, Bagshott, Albury, Wanborough, Dunsfold, Abinger, Shere.

Ashe present " George Mabanke of Henlye parke and whereas in our other bills we did prsent Roger Brorro: and Thomas Thorpe of Henly parke as recusants, they have of late conformed themselves and doe repayre daylye too our parish churche."

Worplesdon, none.

East Horsley " we psent ye Lady Katherine and (?) Bryton hyr wayting gentilwomen for not coming to Ch."

Haselmere, Seale, Byfleet, Witley, Ockham have nothing to report.

Hence the usual circular sent round to the Commissioners quarterly was to a very great extent a mere formality as regards the careful docketing of work done, houses visited, recusants fined or arrested. However, we are quite certain that the work was sufficiently thoroughly carried out and that Catholics wherever they were to be found were so molested that life was made extremely hard for them.

At the beginning of 1591 the following order was sent to the Constables of the Hundred of Woking :—

Vol. V., N. 54.

"To the High Constables of the Hundred of Woking and to eith. of them.

"Whereas we are informed that Roger Borrowe, Thomas Thorpe, George Mabancke and Rose Foster dwelling in the lodge at Henley Park do wilfully refuse to come to the church contrary to her Majesty's laws in that case provided. These are by vertue of her M's Commission to us and others directed to charge and command you to warn all the said persons personally to appear before us at Guildford on Saturday the 15th of this present January by nine of the clock in the forenoon then and there to answer to such matters as on the behalf of her Maj. shall be objected or demanded of them. And hereof fail you not at your perils.

"Given under our hands the 7th day of January 1591.

"Wylliam More.
"George More.
"Laurence Stoughton.
"John Agmondesham."

At the end of the same year the Minister and Churchwardens of Woking sent the following report:

"*Surrey.*—To her Maj. Commers. appointed for the execution of Her Highness's Commn granted for the Inquisition of Seminary priests Jesuits, fugitives, recusants etc.

"*Woking.*—We whose names are hereunder written do find upon Inquisition by us taken that James Hobson of Woking gentleman hath not used for one whole year last past, neither doth use to repair to his parish Church at any usual time to devine service according to the Laws of the Realm.

"December 19, 1591
"John Shaw Minister.
"William Stoughton.
"Wm Pencey
"Richard Colwall

the Mark of William Colyard

"John Atwood
"Richard Russell

Any other Seminaries, priests, Jesuits, fugitives, recusants or abettors of any of them, we as yet know none to be within our parish."

Signatures as above.

Both these documents would give the impression that in the Hundred of Woking there were exceedingly few who still adhere to the old religion. But, as we have seen the documents actually before are but a fraction of what must have come to Loseley in those days. Many of them were sent up direct to the superior courts and were in a large number of cases, after having been noted in some official list, relegated to the waste paper basket. In a great number of cases the recusants were dealt with directly and the records of their fines entered into the rolls and their receipts in the Government receipt books. What makes us quite certain of this point is that there are Hampshire and Surrey recusants whose names, although at one time must have passed under the notice of Sir William More, are scarcely mentioned in the lists now extant at Loseley. Nevertheless, they appear regularly for many years in the recusant rolls preserved at the Record Office. Thus, during all this time when these parishes are reporting their freedom from recusancy there are families in their midst being rapidly bled to death.

A letter from the Council to Lord Charles Howard, written on the 23rd July, 1592, tells us quite clearly that the number of recusants is on the increase and that they are to be more thoroughly searched out.

> " Letter from the Council to the L. Charles Howard L. highe Admyrall of Englande and her Mts Lieutenant in the Countie of Surrey. 23rd. July 1592.
>
> " After our hartie comn to your L. Whereas in the yere 1585 there was direction given unto certain commissioners that were specially appointed and chosen for the receaving from the Recusants that were in that Countie their armour and weapons wth charge to take the same into their custodie to be safely kept untill they should shew that conformetie to her Mat lawes that good and duetifull subjects ought to pforme, wch was by them then (as we think) executed according to this direction. Forasmuch as sithence that tyme there are divers others in that County discovered that have professed themselves to be Recusants that were then unknowne whereof many of them are thought to have armor. It is thought requisite by her matie in these doubtfull tymes that yor L. shall enform yorself of the foresaid Commissioners or any of them whose names are in the margent of this letter noted what was done wth the said armor they then dyd take into their charge and wth whome yt nowe remayneth, and to geve by vertue hereof notice to the Comissers lately appointed in that County for enquiry of Jesuits and Seminaries

of the proceedings of the former Comers. in that behalf to send you the names of all such psons as have ben found Recusants since 1585 being psons of quality like to have armor and weapon, and thereuppon we require you to take lyke order to cause the armor and weapons of all the said Recusants so nowe to be certifyed unto you to be enquired for, and wth the advise of the owners given how expedient it is for them to delivr their armors to be kept in the hands of psonses serviseable to commaund the said armr saving suche weapons as may serve for the defence of their howses, and the said armours so saved remain safely in yor L. custodie or the gentleman that hae the former charge, or such other gents that are known to be well affected as you shall appoint and thinke meetest for better assurance because the Enemy doth make so great bragg and reckoning of the assistance of these that are backward in religion, and shall in all tymes hereafter be forthcoming to be delivered unto the owners when any of them shall conforme themselves to her Mas lawes as good and dutiful subjects ought to bee, hereof we pray yr L. to certify us pticlerly both as well what was done by the former Comor in the execucon of or former bus. for the taking into their custodie the formr armoor as also what you shall doe by virtue of these or letters. And because some report is made to her matie that some Recusants having good quantitie of armor in their possession, and that they prtend to have licence so to keepe the same in their houses, we require that some inquisicon be made thereof, and being found to be so affirmed, that the pties be charged to show by what licences and by whome they have ben so licenced, and thereof also wth the rest to advertise us. So we byd yor L. right hartiely farewell. From the Court at Grenewch the XXIIIth of July 1592.

"Your very loving friends
"J. Howard.
"Jo. Puckering
"W. Burghley.
"Walsingham.
"T. Braitehurst.
"J. Lincoln.
"F. Knollys.
"R. Cecyll.
"J. Wolley.
"Fortescue.
"L. Admirall
"All Waade.
"Surrey."

(*Los. Bundle* 1380.)

We have quoted on p. 189 a letter expressing the anxiety of her Majesty "perceiving the notable backwardness and defection in religion late time grown generally amongst her subjects of this realm." This was written a short time after the last, it is dated the 13th August of the same year.

From this letter we see that there was no respite but incessant persecution. The "liberty and leaning granted to such principal persons as were formerly committed to Elie and Broughton" was indeed of a very restricted character and while under this so-called liberty and leaning they were being steadily despoiled of all they possessed.

CHAPTER XV.

THE LAST DECADE OF ELIZABETH.

THE reign of Elizabeth was drawing towards its close; very few years still remained. She herself was growing old and yet she slackened not one whit in the bitterness with which she persecuted Catholics under her rule. She had as her lieutenants in this work men of equal bitterness with herself, Walsingham, Waade, Topcliffe, Norton, Jeffreys, names that stamped their mark on history in letters of blood, yet not once is she reported to have complained of their cruelty or reprimanded them for their excesses. From the beginning of her reign to the end, she was perhaps the greatest enemy that the Catholic Church has had in England. Her father, indeed, with the violence of his passion raged against the Pope and Catholics generally. There is nothing whatever to be said in palliation of his animal passions: but at least there was this difference between Henry and Elizabeth, that the former was like a gale that having once been set in motion could not be spent except in death; the latter was the freezing blast of winter that had set itself to chill and blight every flower of religion in this country. I do not mean, of course, that Elizabeth was not passionate, for she had a temper worthy of her princely father; nor that she was devoid of the grosser sensual leanings, for on this subject there are too many stories of a disgraceful nature which we need not repeat. But, I mean that hers was from the beginning the cool, calculating nature of one, who, having set herself to be complete mistress of everyone and everything in her land, and having none of those tender sympathies for which a woman should especially be noted, counted no step excessive when it brought her nearer to her goal. How far she herself was morally responsible for her unlovely character it is impossible for us to determine. With such a father, we can understand it possible for a girl to grow up with mind so blinded and warped that she can think wrong to be right, and right to be wrong. But the most likely explanation of Elizabeth's moral career is that she herself had no moral tenets. She may indeed have been filled with ambition for the greatness of the nation, and truly, at least from a secular point of view, she used her brilliant talents to excellent effect on this score. However, it is only in her connection with the Catholic Church that I am concerned in these pages. Many historians have given her the praise that is due to her in the sphere of purely civil politics and literature. One thing, however, I think mars her glory even in this, and that is the very point of which we are speaking. He fails in a fundamental point of politics who, obsessed with the idea of absolute domination, runs counter to the deepest convictions of thousands of his most loyal subjects; and he fails as a great literary patron who strives to crush the noblest aspirations of men's hearts. In both these things Elizabeth sinned grievously.

While looking back upon the Queen's life a document comes to my hand from Loseley. It is a fragment, old and worn; it is a copy of one of those many Commissions of Elizabeth and it tells the same old story. It occurs to me just now as an appropriate retrospect, for it is not an enactment of the later portion of her reign. The reader will pardon me if I cite it, my excuse being that as it is one of the Loseley documents of real historical value, it should be published, and I can find no more fitting place for it than to put it in here.

(*Los.* 1085 XV.)

> "Commission to the Archbishop of Canterbury and others to enquire into Ecclesiastical offences. (Copy.)
>
> "Elizabeth by the grace of God Queen of England Fraunce and Ireland defender of the faith To the most Reverend Father in God our right trustie and right welbeloved Edmond Archbishop of Canterburye Prymatt of all England and metropolitane, and the Reverend Father in God our right trustie and welbeloved the bishops of London, Winchester, Elye, Worcester, St. Davids, Norwich, Chichester, and Rochester for the tyme beinge; Richard Bishop Suffragan of Dover. And to our trustie and welbeloved Counsayllours Sir Fraunces Knolles, knight treasurer of our household, Sir Thomas Smythe knight, Frauncis Walsingham esquire our principall Secretories Sir Rafe Sadler knight Chauncellor of our duchie of Lancaster, Sir Walter Mildmaye Knight Chauncellor of our Exchequer, And to our trustie and welbeloved John Southcott one of the Justice of the Plees before us to be holden, Roger Manwood and Robert Mounson two of the Justices of our comon Benche, Thomas Godwyn Dean of Canterburye, Alexander Howell deane of Pawles, Gabriell Goodman Deane of Westminster, William Daye, dean of Windsor, John Whitgifte dean of Lyncoln, John Watson dean of Winton, John Ailmer Archdeacon of Lincoln, Thomas Leckford, Thomas

Willson, Masters of our Requeste, Nicholas Barham one of our Sergiants at Lawe, Gilbert Gerrard esquire our attorney generall. Thomas Bromley esquire our Solicitor generall, Henrie Ratcliffe, Anthony Cooker, Henry Nevell, Owen Hopton, Thomas Scott, Henrie Wallopp, William Kingmill (?) Richard Merton, Knights, Rowland Haward, Lyonell Duckett, John Rivers, Knights Aldermen of our Citie of London, John Mullins Archdeacon of London, Thomas Watts, John Walker, John Yonge, Herbert Westphalinge, John Ebdon, John Still doctors of divinitie David Lewes, Thomas Yatt, Bartolomew Clerk, John Hamond, Doctors of Law, Maisters of our court of Chancerie, George Bromley esquire Attorney of our Duchye of Lancaster, Willm Fletewood esquire recorder of our Citie of London, Thomas Fanshaw Peter Osborne esquires Remembrauncers of our exchequer, Thomas Randolphe, esquire Thomas Ithell, Willm Lowen doctors of Law John Kingsmy . . . (?) Chauncellor of the Dioces of Winchester, Thomas Wotton, Willm Crowmer, Willm More, Miles Sandes, Nicolas Saintleger, Edmond Boyed, Henrie Knolles, Robert Allcock, John Scott, Wiolm Bowyer esquires, Willm Redman, Phillip Johnson, Bachelors of dyvinitie and Thomas Lawse Comissarie to the Archbusshop of Canterburie gretinge. Wereas in our parliament holden at Westm the XXVth daie of Januarie in the first year of our Raigne and there contynewed and kept untill the VIIIth daie of Maye then next following amongst other things there was too acts an statues made and established, thone intituled an Act restoreing to the Crowne of the Ancient Jurisdiction over the state Ecclesiasticall and Spirituall and abolishinge all forrain powers repugnant to the same, and the uther intituled an acte for the uniformitie of comon prayer and service of the Church and admynistration of the Sacraments. And whereas also in our parliament holden at Westm. the XIIth daie of Januarie in the fifth year of our raigne amongst other things there was one other Act and statute made and established intituled an Act for the m'ance of the quene's majesties Roiall powr over all states and subjects within her dominions. And further whereas in our pliament begonne and holden at Wstm. the second of Aprill in the XIIIth year of our Raigne and there contynued untill the dissolucon of the same amongst other things there was one act or Statute made and established intituled an acte to refome certain disorders touching mynisters of the church as by the same severall acts more at large doth appeare. And whereas divers seditious and slanderous persons do not cease dayelie to envent and sett forth false rumours tale and sedicious slanders not only against us and the said good Lawes and statuts, but also have sett forth divers sedicious books within this our Realme of England meanynge thereby to move and provoce striffe, division and dissention amongst our loving and obedient subjects much to the disquietinge of us and our people.

"*To mak enquiries*

"Whereas wee earnestlie myndinge to have the same severall acts before menconed to be dulie put in operation and make psons as shall hereafter offend in anie of them to be condignlie punished. And havinge speciall truste and confidence in yor wisdome and discretions have aucthorished assigned and appointed you to be or Commissioners, and by this ptente do give full power and authoritie unto you or three of you whereof you thesande Archbusshop of Canterburie or the busshope of London Winchester, Elye, Worcester, St. David's, Norwiche, Chichester, Rochester for the time beinge, or you the bushop Suffragan of Dover or you the said Thomas Smith, Francis Walsingham, Roger Manwood, Thomas Godwyn, Alexander Newell, Gabriell Goodman, John Whitgifte, Thomas Leckforde, Thomas Willson, Gilbert Gerrard, Thomas Bromley, Anthonye Cooke, Henrie Nevell, Thomas Watts, Davide Lewes, Thomas Yatt, Barllemew Clerk, of John Hamond to be one from time to time hereafter during our pleasure to enquire as well by the othes of twelve good and lawfull men as also by witnesses and all other waies and meanes you can devise of all offence, contempte, transgressions, and mysdemeanours don and comitted and hereafter to be comitted and don contrary to the tenoure and effect of the said severall acts and statutes, and evry or any of them. And also to enquire of all and singular hereticall eronious or offensive opynions sedicious books, contempts conspiracies false rumors or tales sedicious misbehavors, slanderous wordes and sayings published invented or sett forthe or hereafter to be published invented or sett forth by anie pson or psons against us or against anie our magistrats or officers mynysters or others whatsoever contrarie to anie the lawes or statuts of this our realme or against the quiet governance and rule of our people and subjects in anie countie cytye Boroughe or other place or places exempt or not exempt within this realm of England and of all and every the coaduitors councellors and comforters—procurers, and abettors of every or any such offendr or offendrs. And further wee do give full power and aucthoritie unto you or three of you whereof you the said Archb of Can. or ye busshopp of London. . . . etc. John Hamond to be one from tyme to tyme during our pleasure, as well to heare and determine all and any the persons as also to enquire hereat and determine all and singler enormyties disturbance misbehaviours offences assaults fraies and quarrells don or comitted or hereafter to be done and comitted in anie churche or chapell churchyard or chapell yard or against anie divine service or anie minister or ministers of the same contrarie to the lawes and statutes of this our realme, and also to enquire of and search out and to order correct reforme and punishe all and any such pson or psons dwellinge in places, exempt or not exempt which willfully and obstinatelie have absented or hereafter shall willfullie or obstinatelie absent themselves from the church and make devine service as by the lawes and statuts of this realme is apointed to be had and used by censures of the churche or anie other waies or meanes by the said acte for uniformitie of the Comon praier or anie lawes ecclesiasticall of this our realm is lymitted or apointed. And also to take order by yor discretcons that the penalties and forfeitures limited by the said act for Uniformitie of Comon praier against the offenders in that behalf maie be onlie from time to time levied by the church wardens of any pishe where anie such offence shalbe don to the use of the poore of the said *pishe* of the goodes landes and Cents of any such offenddr by waie of distres accordinge to the lymitacon and true meanynge of the said statutes. And also we do give and graunt full powr and aucthoritie unto you or three of you as is aforesaid from time to tyme and at all tymes duringe or pleisure to visite reforme redress, order correct and amend in all places wt in this or realme of England as well in plaices exempt as not exempt all errors herisies, scismes abuses offences comtempts and enormities spirituall or eccliasticall whatsoev wch by anie mains spirituall or eccliasticall powr aucthoritie or jurisdicon can or maie lawfullie be reformed ordered redressed correctede restrained or amended by sensures eccliasticall deprevacon or other wse to the pleasure of almightie God the encrease of vertue and the prservacon of the peace and unitie of this or realme, and accordinge to the aucthoritie and powr lymited and apointed by anie lawes ordynances or statutes of this or realme. And also we do give and graunt full powr and aucthoritie unto you or three of you as is aforesaide from time to time and at all times duringe or pleasure to enquire of search out and call before you all and any such pson or psons, eccliasticall wch have or shall have eccliasticall lyvingse, that shall advisedlie mainteine or affirme any doctrine directlie contrary or repugnant to anie of the articles of religion wch onelie concerne the confession of the true Christian faith and the doctrine of the acrament comprised in the booke imprinted intituled Articles whereupon it was agreed by the Archbusshope and busshops of both provinces and the whole clergie in the convocacon holden at London in the yere of or Lorde God a thousand ffyve hundred sixtie and two according to the computacon of the Churche of England for the avoidinge of ye ditersites of of opinions and for establishinge of concent touchinge true religion put forth by the Quenes Auctie And that yf anie such pson or psons havinge consented before you or any three of you as is aforesaide for anie suche matter shall persist therein or not revoke his or their error or after suche revocacon eftsones affirme such untrue doctrine then to deprie from all pmocons eccliasticall all and any suche pson and psons so maineteynynge or affirmynge and psistinge, or so eftsones affirmyng as is aforesaid.

“ And further wee do give full powr and aucthoritie unto you or three of you as is aforesaid by vertue hereof to enquire, here, determyn and punishe all inceste advowtries, fornicacons outragious misbehavior and disorders in marige and all other Crymes and offences wch are punishable or reformable by the eccliasticall lawes of this our Realme comited and done or hereinafter to be comitted and done in anie place exempt or not exempt whin this or realm accordinge to the tenore of the lawes in that behalf and accordinge to yor wisdomes consciences and discrecons. Wyllinge comannding and aucthoryshinge you or three of you as is aforesaid from time to time.”

The document here ends abruptly. It is undated, but as I said before, it gives a sufficient summary of the enactments of Elizabeth during the first half of her reign. They were graduated enactments. Very shortly after she had come to the throne she had made it quite clear that she was going to follow in the footsteps of her father, and that she would change in no particular the penal laws against Catholics. She was true to her word, and with terrible insistence she added disability to disability and rigour to rigour, until the cup of bitterness was filled to the brim for her Catholic subjects. The latter portion of her reign saw no relenting in this war against Catholicity. But recusants were rooted out with unfailing assistance, were fined, were imprisoned, were tortured and hanged up to the last moment of her wicked life. We have seen how the work of the Churchwardens was carried through;

we have yet a few documents from Loseley which still speak of desultory engagements here and there with the Catholic enemy. One comes to us from Waverley :—

(*Los. Bundle* 1380.)

> " Wheareas we whose names are hereunder written Inhitants of Farnham being amongst others required to make our psonall apparence at Guildefourd the Seaventh of Marche laste paste before Sir Willm Moore Knight and other her Highness's Comyssioners appointed in these pts to enquire of Semynary priests Jesuytes and of other nott livinge in the due obedience of your Mtie nor duely covinynge to the churche, who with John Sandford Clercke the minyster of Farneham (one other appointed for that Service) did make our apparence accordingly : and for as mutche as wee were divided in opinyon wheather wee ought to take notice of any defecte in the now Inhitants of Waverleighe (a place not of Farnham pishe althoughe wthin the pishe) for not covinyge to Churche : We for or satisfaceon therein agreed to aske and presently did aske thadvise of yer highness's said Comyssion, amongst whom Mr. Ambreshm first spake and gave his opinion that wee ought, or thought it very requisite, that we should psent suche defects wee knewe in thinhitants of Waverleighe for not covinynge to churche, and for that the rest of her Maties. Comyssions then there psent did seeme to like thereof, therefore wee with Mr. Sandfourd made a true psentmte of Wyllm Pykes backwardnes in covinynge to Church and subscribed or names thereunto.
>
> " Written this tenth of Aprill 1592
>
> " Peter Hampdey
> " William Wearlche (?)
>
> " John Fygges marcke
>
> " John More."

What strange changes had taken place.! Waverley ! Where daily Mass was celebrated fifty-six years before ; where the monks had chanted the praises of God in the presence of their Sacramental Lord and their predecessors had continued the melody back some 400 years, now no priest may raise his voice, nor inhabitants may bend the knee to proclaim their love for what the Christians of a thousand years had ever held most sacred. One, William Pykes is found to cry out still against the change and to offer the supreme sacrifice which such noble audacity must demand.

Another document from the same collection, dated the 16th September, 1597, tells us of the examination of Edward Talbot. He was a Catholic and that was his crime. The letter which is written by Thomas Laware to Sir William More, is short, but when the name of Norton is mentioned in connection with an examination we know that the rack is in the background. The name of Edward Talbot was reported to the council by a miserable* apostate of the name of George Elliot, who sold his services as a spy to the Queen's Government. He is reported to have been a harbourer† of priests. Thus the subject of his examination must necessarily be what information he could give of the whereabouts of the various priests he had harboured, and if he should prove a refractory witness Norton had means at his command to force him, unless indeed by the grace of God he should remain firm. From this document we conclude that Richard Hoker of Frensham was also a Catholic, for we are told that he was " also one of them." He too was to be examined " and by examining him to get as much from him then will I send a pursuivant for the rest." There was evidently a haul to be made from the information that Laware hoped would be extracted from these Catholics :—

> " Good Sr. I heartily thank you for your pains and care in the examination of Edward Talbot. If it lie in my power, I will requite your courtesy by all the means I may : and if it please you to take a little more pains and send for Richard Hoker of Frunsam who also was one of them, and by examining him to get as much from him, then will I send a pursuivant for the rest. John Norton hath not dealt so kindly by me as I have deserved at his hands ; nor as he hath promised, but his will be the worst. You must send for this Hoker presently I leave the manner of proceeding to your own discretion, and so with many thanks, I leave you to God. From the Court this 16 of September 1597
>
> " Your assured friend
> " THOMAS LAWARE
>
> " To the Right Worshipful
> his good friend Sr. William
> More give these."

We shall have a good deal to say on the subject of these examinations in a later chapter and therefore we may pass it over for the present.

Another document, this time from an Emily Buckhurst, speaks of close relations of Lord Buckhurst, who himself had sat and was yet to sit many times to pronounce sentence of death over innocent Catholics. There were few families indeed that were not closely connected with Catholics :—

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* Vol. II. p. 537, Rec. Jes.

† Vol. III. p. 440, Rec. Jes.

> " Sir I understand by the bearer hereof, my cousin Smyth who is a kinswoman of my Lord's that there are Warrants directed forth for the binding her husband and son and brother my cousin Dr. Covert to the peace. She is a gentlewoman whom I have known of a child and love very dearly. In regard whereof I entreat you to show them for my Lord's sake and mine all the lawful favour you may and for the pains your worship shall take in their cause, I will be most thankful unto you for it. And rest keen to requite it in what I may. And so with thanks for pains with me this summer I committ you to the tuition of the Almighty. From Horsley this 20th of September 1597.
>
> " Yours assured loving friend
>
> " EMILY BUCKHURST.
>
> " To her very loving cousin Sir William Moore Knight give these."

It is probable that Miss Smyth is the same as that mentioned by a spy to the Government amongst what he calls " the names of all such Papists as carry the countenance of gentlemen and gentlewomen, which I know of my own knowledge, as also such as have been made known unto me by report of Papists." (Landsdowne MSS. Burghley Papers, 33 ? or 16 From Jes. Rec., Vol. II. p. 587.)

Although a few years before the Government had shown a certain degree of panic on account of the increase in numbers of the recusants, we find that the severe measures which were adopted since that time were not without satisfactory results from the persecutors' point of view, for in the document which I will next quote we read " that the well-executing of the said commission in some counties hath of late brought many . . . into submission and conformity." It is of course to be expected that when great sacrifices are demanded there will be always many who will refuse to give them. We might perhaps expect a certain relenting in the vigour with which these repressive measures are driven home, considering this success which the Council is able to record. But no, the Commissioners must be still further encouraged to greater efforts of zeal, and with this object they must be offered additional advantages. These advantages are in the Council's words " to move them to be carefuller in finding out the goods and chattels, lands, tenants and leases of the said recusants." What is this new bribe that is offered? Each Commissioner is to receive "for the charge of himself, his men and horse at his or their first sitting', the sum of five shillings, and the Jury at their first appearance upon the Commission the sum of thirteen shillings and four pence.

This in modern figures means that each Commissioner will receive three pounds and the jury eight pounds eight shillings, *i.e.*, twelve and eleven-pence each or even more if instead of multiplying the figures by twelve we multiply them by thirteen, which would probably be nearer the mark. And lest we should be left in doubt as to the object of these payments, or charitably suppose that they are not in any way intended to bias the Commissioners or the Jury, or to stimulate them to excessive extortions and cruelty, we are told that these allowances shall not be "made but where her Majesty is to receive benefit by the said service." Consequently a premium is hereby placed upon the fines and confiscations extracted from Catholics.

But we must now give the letter:—

> "After my hearty commendations. Whereas of late I directed my letters to the sheriff of your County to give unto the Commissioners for recusants appointed within his Bailiwicke certain allowance for their charges in sitting there upon to move them to be carefuller in finding out the goods and chattles, lands, tenats and leases of the said recusants whereas in other like services none allowance hath been given and yet that service hath been little the more advanced thereby. Wherefore, to effectuate the purpose and good meaning of the statute de An. XXVIII° titled by the imprinting of some books de An° XXIX° I have thought good to remember you yet once again that were before Commissioners or be now new appointed in that behalf to have a more care of that service than hath been hitherto seeing the well executing of the said commissions in some counties hath of late brought many of them into submission and conformity which is more desired than any benefit of the service and is the only end of the Statute. And further my meaning is that you the Sheriffs shall pay to every of such the said commissioners for the charge of himself his men and horse at his or their first sitting there upon the sum of V sh and to he Jury at their first appearance and receiving their charge the sum of XIIIs and IVd foreseeing that you return and warn very sufficient freeholders and well affected to that service. And also at the delivery up of the said Inquisition upon the same to pay like sums of money to every of

such, the said Commissioners then present and the Jury receiving in parchment the said Commissioners hands testifying the payment thereof. And this my letter shall be a warrant to all officers whom it concerns so give you allowance of the same upon your account always provided that the said allowance be not made but where her Majesty is to receive benefit by the said service. And so I bid you farewell from my house near the Savoy the 14th of July 1598

"Your loving friend

[the name is obliterated except for a very few strokes]

"T. Buchurst.

"to my very loving friends the
Sheriff of the County of Surrey and
Sussex and to the Commissioners
for Rescusants in the said County."

(*Los. Bundle* 1329 II., *Miscellaneous Papers.*)

Similar documents were sent to Sheriffs in other Counties. Some of them were filed with the parchment receipts and are now to be seen at the Public Record Office. The Sheriff of Dorset was favoured with one on the 24th February in 1599.

From amongst the Sheriffs' accounts I have selected the following specimen Receipt :—

"Secundo die Aprilis Anno regni reginae Elisabethae XLII°

"Paide by Robert Meller Esquer Shereiffe of the Countie of Dorsett to William Gybber and John Strode Esquiers Commissioners appointed to inquire for the Landes Tenements goods Cattles of Recusants in the Countie of XXs Dorsete for their attendance about the Execucon of the same service to each of them five shillings, and to Mr. Strode because he attended twise at 2 severall places. Xs

"To the Jurie there Impannelled for Service in that behalfe XIIIs IIIId

"Her Matie receavinge benifitt by the same service to the value of XXX£ and upwardes.

"William Gibbes.
"Johes Strode."

It has been the experience of all ages that once a service has been made to work on a system of bribery, it has been found necessary to increase the "donations" from time to time as the need of work becomes more urgent. It is very much like the drug habit, it grows into a passion.

Thus we find the zealots of Reform, having once contracted this pernicious habit, demanding ever more and more. It was only two years after the aforesaid generous offer that Thomas Sackville, the Lord Buckhurst, wrote to the Commissioners for Recusancy and raised their honorarium—not indeed because of their zeal, but rather because they had been somewhat backward—and again they are told that this payment is to be made only in the event that " her Majesty is to receive benefit by the said service."

Here is a letter from the Sheriff's Receipts :—

" After my hartie comendacons whereas upon the statute made in the XXVIIIth yere of her Maties Raigne diverse Comissiones from yeere to yeere have got for the seasure of two ptes of the lande and all the goods of suche Recusantes as have not annswered the pennaltie you posed upon theim by the Act of the XXIIIth yeere of her highnes' Raigne in souche sorte as by the sayed sattute of the sayd XXVIIIth yeere is appointed. And yet the principall fruite intended and expected therein doth not appeere, which is the Reformation of her Maties Subiects from their myserable blindenes and obstinacye in Religion. The which considering the truth soe longe universally preached over the whole Realme must needs be imputed to slacke proceedinge in the execution of the sayed Comissiones. Their are therefore to signifie unto you that as you the comissioners shall now receyve speciall instructions annexed to yore Comission for the better direction of *y*our proceedinge therein, soe yt is hoped that havinge regards howe daungerous and dishonnorable yt is to the State that Recusantes by your default should increase, whoeby yore carefull dealing in this service soe well might be reformed.

" And seeing further what speciall trust and affiance is putt in yore wisdomes and fidelities you will doe yore uttermost in pforminge yore Commission in souch sorte as is prescribed to woork (as farr as in you lyes) that good soe muche desired of her Matie which is the reformation of her erringe Subiects, wherein I shall not fayle to recommend yore dilligence and good endevors to her highnes uppon all occationes where I shall see apparannce thereof by the fectes of yore service. And in the meane tyme for yor better furtherannce and encouragement therein and the chardges of the tyme considered (although in lyke cases gentlemen of yor qualetie have served in theys kynde of Comissiones and ought soe to doe wthout any allowance for their chardges). Yet my meaning is that you the sherife shall paye to everie of the sayd Com̄issioners whoe shall sitt uppon this Com̄ission for the chardge of himself his men and horse at his first sittinge Xs, and to the Jurie at their first apparannce and receyvinge their chardge the some of XXs forseinge that you retorne and warne verie sufficient ffreeholders and well affected to that service, and as neere as you can souch as without any parcyall affection to the Recusants in the Cedules of this Com̄ission contayned are privie to the states and valewes of their Lands. And alsoe likewise at the delyverie up of the sayd Inquisicion to paye like and to the Jurie receyving in prferment the sayde Comissioners hands som̄es of monye to everie of the Com̄issioners then present a testefyinge the payement thereof. And this my letter shalbe a warrant to all officers whome yt concernes to give you allowance of the same upon yore Accompte, (Allwaies provided that the sayd allowannces be not made but where her Matie is to receive bennefytt by the sayd service) And soe I byd you farewell frome Sackvile house the XXIIIth of June 1600.

"Yore lovinge ffreind,

"T. Buchurst.

"The Sherine with all expedition
to notifie this bu and Com̄ission
to the Com̄issioners.

Indorsed.—" To my lovinge frendes the Sherines of the Comtye of Dorset and the Com̄issioners for Recusants in the sayd Comtye."

Let the following Receipt suffice as a specimen of many others which have been preserved to this day:—

" Decimo sexto die Augusti anno regni regine Elizabeth, ec. XLII.

" Paid by Robert Milles Esquire Sherife of the Countie of Dorset by virtue of the Letters of the right honourable the Lorde High Treasurer of England to Thomas Freke Richarde Swaine and John Strode Esquires Comyssioners appointed to enquire for the landes and tenements of recusants in the saide Countie of Dorset for their attendance about the execuc̄on of the same service to each of them the some of	XXXs
" Paide to the Jurie then Impanellede for their serving in that behalf	

"Her Matie receivinge benefytt by the same service to the value of thirtie poundes and upwarde.

"THO: FREKE,
"RYCHARD SWAYNE,
"JOHN STRODE,"

(Petitions of Allowances—Sheriffs—40 to 43 Eliz.)

I might here give many instances of the result for Catholics of these practices, but it is unnecessary to dwell on that point any further. I could also mention cases of the enrichment of the Commissioners themselves by virtue of their office. Lord Howard of Effingham was a case in point. He had confiscated the whole of the estate of Mr. John Gage and he and his descendants enjoyed this loot in perpetuum. We learn this fact from a statement made by Mr. John Copley in 1599. He says "My Father is Thomas Lord Copley de Catton (claiming to be Baron de Hoo and Wells). My mother was of the family of Luttrell, in the South of England. My third sister Margaret married Mr. John Gage and with her husband was condemned to death after an imprisonment of two years on account of a certain Priest who sometimes said Mass in their house, and who afterwards became a martyr. On the appointed day being carried in a cart with her husband to the place of execution with her hands ignominiously bound she received a letter on the very way respiting the sentence. Neither she nor her husband were pardoned or restored to their estate by the Queen, but during her husband's lifetime the Baron Charles Howard of Effingham took possession of his estates and income which to this day he possesses as a gift from the Queen. My father fled from England on account of religion, and died in Flanders in the service of the King of Spain, and the Queen consequently confiscated and took possession of the entire of his property." (Records S. J. Vol. I., p. 188.)

While these things were going forward life was, as we can well imagine, proceeding very smoothly at the court and at Loseley. With these new accretions of wealth Elizabeth and her minions were very prosperous.

Lady Wooley was at this time at the height of favour at Court. But it was the early spring and the country had its allurements. Loseley, snug and set with its woods and lawns, soon was to become bright with the fresh green of the peeping buds; and she longed to be on her palfrey galloping up between the bay hedges to alight amidst the joyous company at the Hall. She will doubtless first go to Pireford where there will be a Christening. But her thoughts are of Loseley and of her aged father. As we have seen in an earlier portion of this book, Elizabeth has been well pleased with his services; and so he has been well rewarded by the Queen's favour. Lord Howard has also been a loyal servant to the Queen, not only in his office as Admiral but also in his civil capacity. Lord Buckhurst has not been behindhand in his zeal for religion. These three have had much to do with the tracking and snaring of "Papists." And so there is a great deal in common.

I give a letter from Lady Wooley to her father. It breathes of peace and sunshine, but the names it gives, the comfort and the wealth that it reveals in the background are in strange contrast to the daily occupations whence Sir William More, my Lord Admiral and my Lord of Buckhurst derive many of their most handsome emoluments.

> "Sir, I do forbear to write unto (you) concerning my L. Admiral's answer about your request because it were too long to be written, and for that, God willing, I purpose very shortly to be at Pireford when I shall have time to deliver the whole course of our speech at large. On Saturday we purpose to be there and on Sunday to Christen Mr. Anger's child. I pray you let us see you as soon as your occurrances will give you leave. You shall then understand this Lo. pleasure, which, I have no doubt, but will content you, for I find him very ready so to do. I moved my Lo. Admiral this day for an answer unto you, because I told him I was shortly to go down into the country. He said he would talk presently with my Lord of Buckhurst about it whose answer was unto my L. Admiral that he marvelled you should in any sort mislike his having of the place when he had 2 letters to show under your hand that of Mr. Raymond could be by any means satisfied he should have your consent for the place before any. I tell you that much to give you a taste of the matter without our meeting. I will open unto you at large. But I find my L. Admiral your very honourable and loving friend.
>
> "So craving your daily blessing with the remembrance of Mr. Wolley's commendations to yourself and all the rest of the good company, with you not forgetting mine own to them likewise, I take my leave.
>
> "From the Court this 14th of March 1594.
>
> "Your loving and obedient daughter,
> "ELIZABETH WOLLEY.
>
> "To the Right Worshipful my very loving Father
> Sir William Moore knight at Loseley."

While these events were taking place, while the Justices and the Magistrates were enjoying the fruits of their ill-favoured labours, Elizabeth's Government was ever busy on the same work. They never seemed to tire or to flag, because, we believe, of the power behind them. This power was the throne. Bills were sent in to the Houses of Parliament with the object of increasing this power, never once with the object of alleviating the horrible injustices which were weighing down ever more and more British subjects good and true. We can understand a Member of Parliament weary with discussions that after all can have but one ending, viz.: the executing of the royal will. Mr. Nicholas Saunders, engaged in the wearying task of listening to long debates in the House of Parliament and of voting as he felt compelled to do, writes airily on the subject of these debates to Sir William More. It is a wearisome attendance that of an M.P., and he envies his friend who is quiet and free at home, and one can see that from some points of view he would wish to be free also of the irksome duties imposed upon him. There was a great deal of wrangling on the Bill of Confirmation of Colleges, Deans and Chapters, but it was passed nevertheless "even as the Lords sent it without any addition or subtraction." When we read this letter it is a source of wonderment to us what can be the sentiments of this Nicholas Saunders, whose wife was a suspected Catholic. But they were hard times, and the consciences of men were strangely forced in those days. Nevertheless we own that it seems inexplicable that a man could write about the life struggles of many of his nearest and dearest in such a strain: one might almost imagine Mr. Toby, M.P., in his lightest vein.

> "Sir, as I am very glad for your own sake that you are quiet now at home free from the wearisome attendance here, so I am sorry for mine own sake that you are gone in that I am half out of countenance wanting your presence here. Here hath been exceeding great business about the bill of the explanation of the statute of 23 Eliz:, that afternoon that you departed hence the Committees met about it and staid until 8 o'clock, concluding at last upon nothing but a general mislike of the Bill: some greatly misliking the title, some utterly condemning the Preamble, many others finding many other faults in the body of the bill, the report of this being made next morning Mr. Vicechamberlain moved to have a conference craved of the Lords about it to the which the house with very great difficulty consented; in the afternoon, the Lords met the Committees and agreed (with the advice in many points of the L. Chief Justices there present) to all the

amendments; the next morning the amendments were reported to the house, with the which yet divers were not satisfied as Mr. Fuller, Mr. Fynch and others that wished to have the bill committed again, to which motion the Council would in no wise consent except the Committees might go up presently into the Sergeants room and dispatch it while the house sat, which was effected accordingly. Whilst they were above, the house passed away the time reasonable pleasantly in arguing to a merry bill of the Brewers which we have passed, and by Mr. Stevenson's speech to it who was called up by my means to speak, that of himself meant it not. But the chiefest matter of pleasure to the house was through the Bill of Cranbrooke, which I procured to be read, to the which Mr. Asse, Aske I should have said spake so well and with so good a grace that it was to the great consolation of the whole house. At last down came the Committees with a general agreeing to certain amendments, by them set down, so that at length the Bill, with those amendments, passed the house, not as a new Bill, but still as the Bill from the Lords; but how it can be, I know not. For now it hath a new title, a new preamble, and almost a new body, and yet it must be the old bill still, all this is for the speedy passage of it.

"We were content to yield to any thing so we might rise, for it was past three ere this was concluded and ended. I assure you, Sir, a great many of us caught such a faintness there with so long fasting, having neither meat in our bellies nor wit in our heads, that we shall not (I doubt me) be able to make a wise speech there while we live.

"Upon Friday last we committed Mr. Neals's creditor and the Sergeant that arrested him to the Tower, and enlarged both again this day.

"Sir Edward Hobby was discharged upon Friday last, and came to the house this day.

"The Bill of rescues in arrests was so smally reseued that we have thrown it out of doors; which the Bill of outlaws took so unkindly that it would not stay with us, but needs follow the other, both to my no small grief.

"This day we have after much wrangling passed the Bill of the Confirmation of Colleges, Deans and Chapters even as the Lords sent it without any addition or subtraction, rejecting all manner of provisoes as Sir Thomas Shurley's proviso, Mr. Michael Stanhope's Mr. Dyar's and one Addam's.

"Mr. Stanhope had Mr. More to plead for him and the house was divided upon his proviso, but the negative part won it; I am sure my brother George can guess of which side I was. We have likewise this day passed the bill against building about London and against inmates, so that now there is no more left to be read but the pardon, for we had dispatched all and rose by two o'clock this day. Thus much for Parliament matters. I have caused your letters to be delivered and have left word with Child according to your appointment. Mr. Browne hath promised to deliver to me the councel's letter and the Composition with their hands, which I will bring down with me after the end of the Parliament, which sure shall be either ended or proroged to-morrow.

"Thus with the very best thanks that a man altogether yours can give, for your many exceeding kindness on him bestowed, and heartiest commendations to yourself and my good brother, I leave you both to the tuition of the Almighty. From the Blackfriars this Monday night the 9th of April 1593.

"Your dutiful son and assured friend

"NICHOLAS SAUNDER.

Indorsed.

"To the Right Worshipful my very
good friend Sir William More
Knight, at Loseley in
Surrey."

(*Los. Bundle* 1329 II., *Miscellaneous Papers.*)

How does this letter strike us in the light of the following document :—

"Declaration of the Knights and Burgesses of Surrey that the Lord Lieutenant, Deputy Lieutenant, justices of the Peace and others are not recusants.

"*Surrey.*—The knightes and Burgesses for the Countye of Surrey having taken into Consideracon the order of the howse doe psente that the LO. Lieutenaents and the deputy Lieutenaentes as alsoe the Justices of the peace residente wthn the saide County, the Captaines over the forces as well horse as foote are neyther Recusantes convicted not to their knowledge justlye to be suspected accordinge to the Letter and former Actes of Counsell to be Recusants only Sir Frauncis Howarde, whoe is there a Justice of the peace and Custos Rotulom hathe bin of late suspected to be not well affected in Relligion boath in his owne and his wife's not duelye repayringe to their parysh Churche or receivinge the Communion whoe takinge knowledge of this suspicion conceived againste himselfe on the 24th of this monethe, hathe

> endeavoured by his Lres to free himselfe from that suspicion wch maye be red, yf the howse shall be soe pleased: and since repayringe to some of us hathe affirmed that he hathe not bin for three monthes laste paste at his owne payrshe Churche in rigarde he wantethe a pewe there neyther receives the Comunion for two yeares paste for some private reasons, yet hathe been at other Churches, and is readye and willinge to repayre to the Churche and receive the Com. but for his wife he could not aunsweare. And lykewise Sir Nicholas Saunders a Justice of the peace alsoe of the Countye, that ordinarilye he Comethe to the Churche and is not suspected anye waye to be popishe but his wife is of a popishe disposition as we are crediblye ynformed."
>
> (*Los. Bundle* 1380, *Recusancy.*)

Thus did time wear on. Tragedies beyond the power of the pen to describe were being enacted. Elizabeth was engaged in many works of social consequence. An age of learning and literature was passing and the Queen was likewise drawing near to her end. Beyond question the greatest act of her lifetime was that inveterate persecution of thousands of her loyal subjects. I say the greatest because in the light of true science surely the greatest of all pursuits and occupations is that which professes to draw men to God; and certainly it must be admitted that it is no small thing to attempt, nay, the greatest that could be attempted, viz.: to root out a religion which had held undisputed sway for over eight hundred years. Even in the opinion of those who still think that the Catholic Church was an evil institution it must be admitted that no greater work could be accomplished than the eradicating of the Church from the realm. However, Elizabeth's object was not the cause of God, but solely, as we have said, human power and domination, and she cared nothing for the sighs and lamentations of others provided she obtained her end.

The end was drawing near; the Queen was not only ageing, but dying; no one knew it or would recognise it less than she. Daily she lived for this world, and this world saw that she was dying. While there was yet hope of gaining anything from her favour her favourites rallied round her, but no one loved her.

Lonely as she had always been, her loneliness deepened as she drew towards the grave. The statesmen and warriors of her earlier days had dropped one by one from her Council-board and their successors were watching her last moments and intriguing for favour in the coming reign. As we have seen, Cecil, Lord Burleigh, was a very special favourite, he died August 4th, 1598. He was succeeded as Prime Minister by his son Cecil, afterwards Earl of Salisbury, James I. confirming the appointment. He inherited his father's hatred of the Catholic Faith and cruelty towards its professors. His end was not unlike that of Walsingham, dying of a loathsome disease on his return from Bath; upon which event James drily commented by saying: 'Our ears will now be rid of lying tales.'" (Tanner, Soc. Jesu Apost. Imit.) Tanner adds that he was a special hater of the Catholic religion and was held to be the inventor and trumpeter of the treasons which he charged upon the priests. (Records S.J., Vol. IV., p. 5.)

Her favourite Lord Essex was led into an insane outbreak of revolt which brought him to the block. The old splendour of her court waned and disappeared. Only officials remained about her. "The others of the Council and nobility estranged themselves by all occasions." As she passed along in her progresses, the people whose applause she courted remained cold and silent. The temper of the age, in fact, was changing and isolating her as it changed. Her own England, the England which had grown up around her, serious, moral, prosaic, shrank coldly from this brilliant, fanciful, unscrupulous child of earth and the Renaissance. She had enjoyed life as the men of her day enjoyed it, and now that they were gone she clung to it with fierce tenacity. She hunted, she danced, she jested with her young favourites, she coquetted and scolded and frolicked at sixty-seven as she had done at thirty. "The Queen," wrote a courtier a few months before her death, "was never so gallant these many years, nor so set upon jollity. She persisted in spite of opposition, in her gorgeous progresses from country house to country house."

A story is related of a certain Edward Rookwood of Euston, a recusant. He had signed a petition of loyalty to Elizabeth; she was on one of her stately progresses this time through Suffolk. As a reward for his profession of loyalty the Queen announced that she would be entertained at Euston. Edward Rookwood was overjoyed at the thought of such honour, and having prepared all things with a lavishness worthy of the Queen, he retired with his family to a smaller house, leaving Euston "the biggest house in the County" for the accommodation of her Majesty. Three days were spent in merry feasting under that loyal and hospitable roof. The Queen was about to leave, but ere she departed the host, anxious to know that all things had proceeded to the complete satisfaction of the Queen's Majesty, came himself to ask her if all had been well. Graciously she signified her approval and calling him "her gentle Rookwood," gave him her hand to kiss. With a light heart and happy at the thought of his Sovereign's favour, he stepped into the street without. A hand touched him on the shoulder; it was the Queen's Chamberlain who had been sent to tell him that the Queen's orders were that he should be instantly imprisoned for life for having dared to attempt "her *real presence*," and forthwith he was hurried off to goal, not being allowed even to go home and let his family know where he was going. He was kept in strict confinement for twenty years, until his death in 1598. (Rec. Jes. Vol. III., pp. 785 and 786.)

These were the sort of progresses with their ugly incidents in the background that continued almost to the end of the Queen's life. She clung to business as of old, and rated in her usual fashion "one who minded not to giving up some matter of account." But death crept on. Her face became haggard, and her frame shrank almost to a skeleton. At last her taste for finery disappeared and she refused to change her dress for a week together. A strange melancholy came over her: "She held in her hands," says one who saw her in her last days, "a golden cup, which she often put to her lips, but in truth her heart seemed too full to need more filling." Gradually her mind gave way. She lost her memory, the violence of her temper became unbearable, her very courage seemed to forsake her. She called for a sword to lie constantly beside her, and thrust it from time to time through the arras, as if she heard murderers stirring there. Food and rest became alike distasteful. She was day and night propped up with pillows on a stool, her finger on her lip, her eyes fixed on the floor, without a word. If she once broke the silence, it was with a flash of her old queenliness. When Robert Cecil said that she "must" go to bed, the word roused her like a trumpet. "Must!" she exclaimed; "is *must* a word to be addressed to Princes? Little man, little man! Thy father, if he had been alive, durst not have used that word." Then, as her anger spent itself, she sank back into her old dejection. "Thou art so presumptuous," she said, "because thou knowest I shall die." She rallied once more when the Ministers beside her bed named Lord Beauchamp, the heir to the Suffolk claim, as a possible successor. "I will have no rogue's son," she cried, hoarsely, "in my seat." But she gave no sign, save a motion of the head at the mention of the King of Scots. She was, in fact, fast becoming insensible, and early the next morning the life of Elizabeth, a life so great, a life so strange and lonely in its greatness, passed quietly away" (*Green's Short History of the English People*).

With every word of this description we are agreed, except, perhaps, with its concluding phrase. Not that Elizabeth was not a great sovereign, for great indeed she was, but she used her greatness for the undoing of the greatest of noble causes. It is the final clause of all that seems to us to be singularly inappropriate, namely, that she passed quietly away. The whole of the foregoing passage belies that statement. She died in terror, an irreligious woman as she had lived, a terror to all religious souls.

CHAPTER XVI.

JAMES I.

THE Queen was dead, and James I. succeeded to the crown on the 24th March, 1603. What were Catholics to expect at his hands? They were not left very long in doubt. Not a priest was delivered out of gaol, not a Catholic received any indulgence at his hands. James was not the brilliant wit that shone from the throne yesterday, but he possessed the same hatred for religion and was filled with the same worldly spirit. Catholics were ripe plunder for the Crown, and at Loseley we have some documents—very few, but quite sufficient to reveal the spirit of the reign—which show the sentiments of James towards Catholics.

The word Recusant is still in official use and the penal laws against them are no whit modified. We have a fragment of a document of that period at Loseley; it is so worn and torn as to become quite illegible in parts. It is a memorandum in connection with Statutes relating to recusants and conveyances by them. All the old laws against recusants were revived: attendance at Church was, as in the time of Elizabeth, made a test of orthodoxy and loyalty; and those who absented themselves were subject still to grievous fines and imprisonments. Father Gerard, S.J., who himself was tortured in the Tower, writing of the troubles of Catholics in the reign of James I., says:—

> "They made it death to receive the absolution of a priest; yea, death to harbour a priest in your house, or to give him a cup of drink, or any assistance in his need; death to persuade any to embrace the Catholic religion. They paid the *præmunire* which is a punishment worse than death for keeping an *Agnus Dei*, or hallowed grains, or such like comforts of soul that come from Rome. Finally whatsoever the wit or malice of the least pityful hearts could find out, all that was inflicted and laid upon our backs." (Condition of Catholics, Morris, p. 15.)

What seemed at first uppermost in the King's mind was his own prerogative of supremacy in which he imitated his egregious predecessors Henry and Elizabeth. Yet he was not satisfied with what seemed sufficient for the ambition of these two sovereigns.

He not only confirmed that blasphemous oath, but introduced a new oath of allegiance as he styled it, " by which, all other impious errors, all orders and grades of the commonwealth, are made to abjure the papal prerogative of excommunicating and deposing Princes, and has spared no pains to compel his subjects to take this most wicked oath. Laymen who refuse it, render themselves liable to imprisonment for life and to the forfeiture of all their estates, clergymen and religious are punished by a most barbarous death. He has had books written in defence of his oath, and has himself taken up the pen and descended into the controversial arena. In the two books he has written, he treats of the new oath, and calls on all Christian Princes to yield at length to the truth, and to cast in their lot with him." (Annual letters, 1608, Rec. Jes. Vol. VII., p. 995.)

He set himself with unflagging resolve to the task of what he himself styled as the uprooting of popery. His words from the throne at the opening of Parliament in the year 1612 were that he had summoned Parliament for the furtherance of the interests of God, of his own person, and of his fortune. " The first we shall secure," said he, " by maintaining our religion, and uprooting popery, yet," he continued, " I know not how it is that, despite so many wise laws enacted against them, the Papists increase in number. I do not however press for further enactments just now, lest the Jesuits spread abroad the slander that we are persecutors, a charge I have rebutted with my own pen. Rather let the laws already in force be so clearly construed in all their terms and clauses by Parliament, as to leave no loophole of escape."

What were these laws? We have seen something of them already. I have spoken about the præmunire. What exactly is implied by that? It means the total forfeiture of goods and perpetual imprisonment. This was the penalty imposed upon those who refused to take the oath. In the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, as we have already seen, the penalties imposed upon Catholics were increased slowly but steadily. In the annual letters of the English College we have this summary: " A slight fine was imposed for absence from the Protestant service, another for those who were married before others except the ministers, a further on such as heard Mass or received the Sacrament at a Priest's hands. But seeing they effected nothing and that our religion only flourished the more in spite of these petty vexations, they imposed far more severe penalties. Refusal to attend Church was visited by a fine of 80 crowns a month, and in default of payment by the forfeiture of two-thirds of the offender's property to the Crown; to have dealings with a priest from beyond the seas entailed confiscation and the penalties of high treason."

James I., therefore, was resolved to bring all these Statutes into the most complete execution, adding to them whatever his cruel nature suggested to his mind. Catholics were perpetually branded by him as traitors, they were classed with the lowest of criminals, they were made objects not only of hatred to their fellow countrymen, but of ridicule and contempt. A Bill was actually brought into Parliament to compel all Catholics to wear a red hat and particoloured stockings like clowns, so as to be not only distinguishable, but to be hooted at whenever they should appear. But to return to the fines and confiscations. The King had an adept as his right-hand chief executioner in Sir Edward Coke, the Lord Chief Justice. This arch-criminal of the King's Bench, envenomed to the very marrow of his bones with hatred of the Catholic Church, used his undoubted ability to rake up out of the musty law books all the obsolete laws against Catholics and to put them into force. One of the first things he did was to call in question the validity of all marriages which had not been contracted before the ministers, and in each case that was proved to his satisfaction a fine of 400 crowns was added to the stigma of concubinage. The same fine was levied on those who had their children baptised at home. A further fine of 40 crowns a month was inflicted on any one who kept a Catholic servant.

Of course endless actions were the consequence of these laws. To facilitate and expedite convictions a host of infamous informers was encouraged and maintained by one third of the fines imposed. The poor themselves were not exempt from persecution. The labourer and the maid servant were subject to taxes which their yearly earnings did not equal, and in default of payment, their household goods and clothing were distrained and put up for auction, if they had nothing worth seizing they were cast into prison, where they might perish by misery and starvation, unless Catholic charity, already so heavily taxed, should come to their relief. What wonder indeed if under these circumstances many were driven to make shipwreck of their faith. We are told of a poor old man who after many years of struggle and hardship, having been bereaved of his pious wife and left with a large family of daughters, was suddenly summoned for absence from church. He was fined and as he had not wherewith to pay, they seized the copper boiler which served to cook the family meals, and sold it. The poor fellow gave way under this hard trial. He bethought him of his daughters and he resolved to save them from certain starvation which would overtake them if he remained firm. But God took pity upon his bruised reed. Ere he had time to commit this overt act of apostacy he was stricken down by a mortal disease, in which having had the ineffable blessing of the visit of a priest, he died in dispositions of the most touching compunction.

Coke thought the oath an admirable occasion for grinding the spirit out of Catholics. We are told that at each of the four law terms he had summonses directed by the Lord Chancellor to all Judges and Justices of the Peace, who were commanded to search out the Catholics and send them to Coke's court in London. The justices, stimulated by fear or hatred, did their duty so thoroughly that they sent up Catholics of every age, sex, and condition. Sickness, old age, poverty, the length of the journey, the inclemency of the season, the serious illness of wife or child, were pleaded in vain. It was said that no less than 400 were summoned from one County alone. A lady of eighty years of age was forced to travel in the depth of winter more than eighty miles. Notwithstanding this long and chilling journey, undismayed by the savage aspect of Coke, she refused the oath, made open profession of her faith, lost all her property, and was condemned to imprisonment for life. The same happened to a widow of a certain knight, notwithstanding the efforts made in her favour by some of her influential Protestant relatives. Further the annual letters tell us that the same lot had befallen many others, not of the wealthy class only, but maidens, married ladies and men of humble condition, whose whole dependence was upon what they earned by incessant toil.

Many miserably succumbed to the storm. Coke however being well aware that they complied reluctantly and against their conscience, summoned them to London to renew the oath, in some cases as many as four times in one year. Hence it happened that these poor creatures had to travel, some of them, from two to six hundred miles, in the depths of winter. Often also in the summer season they were obliged in the heats to encounter innumerable perils of the road and when in London to await the convenience of the judges. In the meantime their slender resources were drained by the extortions of innkeepers and the " gratuities " which they were obliged to offer to the officials of the court. We can imagine these unfortunate weaklings returning sore in conscience and grievously depleted in worldly consolations. It was vain for them to make profession of a chastened spirit in regard to the established religion.

Coke had not faith in them, and showed them no pity. They were compelled under the most grievous penalties to give bail for their good behaviour. They were thus so completely enslaved by the law that they were wholly at the mercy of others; for if they offended anyone even by so much as a look or ill-considered gesture, they became immediately liable to the forfeiture of their bail and to the payment of a considerable penalty. Coke was not satisfied with this persecution of the faint-hearted. He told them in open court that they must go to church, hear sermons, receive the sacrament, denounce the Pope and the Catholic religion, and acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of the King, and that then only may they talk of loyalty, but if they should persevere in their obstinacy he swore by God and the King's life that they should lose the Prince's favour, be stripped of their goods, and consigned to some dark dungeon, " nor," he continued, " flatter yourselves that these are mere empty threats; they are the King's own words who is ever inculcating on the judges that they should apply with the utmost severity all the laws enacted against the Papists. His Majesty is fully determined to drive you to such extremetie that you will be destitute even of common necessaries. He thus expects to rid his kingdom of Jesuits, priests, and the like pests, by starving them out, and when the Catholics will not have as much as a crust to give them it will be easy to find others to take their place."

With all the eloquence at his command and the wide knowledge of invective of which he was a past master, Coke raved in this manner against Catholics and their religion, browbeating them with all the vehemence of the bully that he was, in the hopes of finally shaking their constancy and breaking down all resistance. Of course Catholics would naturally try and find a way of evasion so as to protect if possible their property and their subsistence; and so they conveyed their holdings into other names.

This was very soon discovered and conveyances made by Catholics were rendered illegal. The document which I now quote illustrates this very point.

> " Temp. James I. Memoranda in connection with Statutes relating to Recusants and conveyances by them.
>
> " The words are general in the consideration of the act for avoiding of all frauds and therefore the particular exposition of the act to restrain the particular frauds for conveyances made by the recusants themselves and not by others to their uses in other men's names doth not meet (?) with the general consideration to avoid all frauds unless that the words subsequent in the act in any wise directly or indirectly meant or intended to be for the behoofe relief or maintenance or at the disposition of any

such offenders shall be intended of all lands bought by recusants in the names of others trusted to the use of such offender and for relief of his family as well of conveyances made by the recusants themselves to others trusted in the same nature.

"That the conveyances made by the recusants meant for their behalf, relief or maintenance is directly and conveyances made by others and in the names of other's uses by their procurement to their uses and behoofes and for the benefit of the offender and his family is indirectly meant, for there is a double meaning intended by the which is not expressed, besides the revocation expressed of the need made by the recusants themselves which are revocable and there can be no double meaning conceived by that act in any Conveyance made by the recusants themselves, and therefore indirectly doth imply all other conveyances procured by the recusants to their uses in other men's names whereby they and their families should be relieved or maintained.

"That the Statute of simony for tations hath also the words directly or indirectly which imply money by them directly given to o . . . resented or by any other by their procurement indirectly and otherwise the statute would prove of no force but would be avoided unless the words of the act be construed to meet with the meaning of the act.

"So the Statute or Sheriffs 2 8 to avoid all bonds taken by gaolers of their prisoners, to be void which words are all bonds taken of any person by any persons in their wards which is explained in Dyve and Manynghm's case that the words of all persons shall be of any bonds by any person at large for the debt of prisoners as well as of the prisoner in ward or else the statute has been made in vain as in that case is adjudged."

(*Los. MSS. Bundle* 1380.)

Very fragmentary! But very expressive!

With this document before us it is scarcely necessary to turn to the Statutes which it is intended to explain. Recusants must not be afforded any opportunity of evasion. It was well known that many were related to friendly Protestants whom they could trust to take charge of their estates for them, and not infrequently friendly gaolers were willing to help in some way, and in many cases there were not a few who saw in this an opportunity for increasing their income by means of the fees which they extorted from the recusants for effecting transfers by proxy. This was to be no longer.

But it is interesting to study still further the progress of penal laws as they were still further increased and put into force under the able magistracy of Coke. In the document from which I have extracted portions above (Annual Letters) we are told that there were others again, more bloodthirsty than their fellows, who strove to bring about an enactment that everyone making profession of Catholicity should have his neck broken. As a pendant to this, it was proposed by others to enact the penalties of high treason against all the owners or occupiers of houses in which Priests' hiding-holes, or churchstuff should be discovered. But by God's overruling providence their counsels were frustrated as follows. "The King commanded and insisted that the question of supply should be first dealt with. The Puritans, a most insolent party, who formed the majority, began to enquire into the reasons of the poverty of the royal treasury; the taxes and duties had increased, the fines for Popery had never been so rigidly levied, the country was at peace, yet the King complained of greater straits than Elizabeth ever did when at war with the mightiest monarch in the world, a war which lingered on for years. Complaints were then made of the King's profusion, and there were not wanting those, who appealing to former acts of parliament limiting the royal munificence, called for the invalidation of his gifts. At length, to avoid disturbances, the King dissolved the Parliament, and unconsciously executing God's judgment on the enemies of His Church, committed the leaders of the Opposition to the Tower of London. Further, to efface every vestige of this Parliament, he annulled what it had enacted concerning the succession of the Crown. But Coke, who 'makes his broth out of any water that comes to hand,' tried to persuade this Parliament to enact that the Papists who outwardly conform and go to the Protestant service should be made liable to a monthly fine of forty crowns on account of their Catholic wives. The case of these men, who are both numerous and wealthy, was fully debated in the last session of the House of Commons. Their wives, for the most part, are high-born ladies, and have shed a lustre on many a prison and tribunal by their bold confession of faith. This Parliament has left behind it in London some traces of its severity. Among other complaints, stress was laid on the liberty allowed to the imprisoned Priests to celebrate Mass and to receive visits from both Catholics and Protestants. Officers were forthwith sent to search the boxes of the priests, with strict orders that they be kept apart from the lay-Catholics; many keepers were imprisoned for their past indulgence, and a stricter discipline is to be inforced for the future. Thus the past year has yielded abundant opportunities of ministering not only to spiritual but to bodily needs, which our Fathers have not neglected. The destitution of some sixty or seventy prisoners confined in one gaol has been relieved solely by the charity of our missioners, who have provided the captives with food, throughout the year, and with changes of clothes. At Christmas the same number who were starving elsewhere, have also received seasonable succour. And indeed since the beginning of this mission, ours have never failed in their care for the spiritual and temporal relief of Catholic prisoners."

What a picture is given to us by this account which was written in the year 1614 at the English College in Rome. It gives us an idea of the barbarous persecutions raised against Catholics and also of the extraordinary courage of Catholics—both amongst the laity and in the ranks of the clergy in professing their faith. The Loseley manuscript which we shall next consider was written in the same year. It evinces increased anxiety on the part of the Protestant element in Parliament, for we are told in this document that Catholics "are multiplied and increased . . . in most parts of this kingdom." The old calumny is again trumped up against them, that they are "become more strongly poisoned with such devilish doctrine as have of late times been broached and infused into them concerning the duty and allegiance they owe to their sovereign." For this reason a general visitation is again to be made of their dwellings and their "armour, weapons and other furniture of War" must be confiscated.

> "After our very hearty comms. Whereas in the 27 year of her late Maj's Reign, there was general order and direction given that all Recusants within the several Counties of this Realm should be disarmed, and their armour and furniture disposed to her Majesty's use until further order should be given them. Forasmuch as these times require no less providence for the preventing of such effects as the malice of persons so ill affected may otherwise produce; but that rather we should have so much the more care, by how much they are multiplied and increased since that time in most parts of this Kingdom, and become more strongly poisoned with such devilish doctrine as hath of late times been broached and infused into them, concerning the duty, and allegiance they owe to their sovereign, together with the boldness and assurance they have taken of late, which is conceived to grow from some hopes tending to the prejudice of the public quiet and peace of the state; and that the opinion of the Parliament being declared in that behalf; doth concur with the practise of former times; as by the statute made in the third year of his Majesty's Reign may appear. We do therefore, in his Majesty's name, and by his special commandment require

you to take and receive out of the hands and custody of all Recusants as well such as are convicted, as others known to be Recusants and ill affected in Religion, in that County. All such armour, weapons, and other furniture of war, as shall be found in their houses or otherwise belonging unto them, and to detain and keep the same, to be disposed as occasion shall require. In the due execution and performance whereof we think it meet that there be left unto each of them, such weapons as shall seem necessary and expedient for the defence of their house; and that such armour and weapon, as shall be received from them, be taken by bill indented, containing the particulars of each parcel; and further also to take notice what horses or geldings of service, are in the possession and keeping of the said Recusants. And for as much as the service is of that importance, as will require an exact account thereof; and so we doubt not, but you will proceed therein with all diligence and integrity, and without favour or connivance to any person whosoever. And thereupon to return unto us with all convenient expedition a particular as well of the arms as of the parties from whom they are taken, together with such other circumstances as shall be requisite to be made known unto us concerning the same. And so we bid you heartily farewell. From the Court at Whitehall this 10th of January 1612.

" Your very loving friends

" G. CANT J. ELLESMERE. Canc. H. NORTHAMPTON
J. L. NOSE. T. SUFFOLK. GILB. TH . . .
J. F. WORCESTER. PEMBROKE. EXETER. LONDON.
E. ZOUCHY. W. KNOLLYS. E. WOTTON. JUL. CAESAR.

" To our very loving friends the High Sherif
of the County of Surrey the deputy Lieutenants
and Justices of the Peace of the same County."

(*Los. MSS.*, *Vol. v. n* 65.)

The work was done at once all over England and lists were made with the greatest possible expedition. I give a list which is preserved at Loseley. There were undoubtedly many such throughout the country.

" *Feb.* 1612. A pticular of such arms, weapons and furiniture of war as have been taken from Recusants within the County of Surrey as also of the names of the said Recusants, and of all other Recusants within the said County.

Arms taken from Bartholomew Fromonds of Cheam, hundred of Wallington, gent and now remaining in the custody of Sr Nicholas Carewe alias Throck Morton	One corslet furnished with vanbraces, Tases and Murrian 3 swords and 2 daggers, 3 Callibers, whereof one with a broken stock 2 harquebuses with straight stocks, 3 coats of plate. One long bow with a shefe of arrowes : flour flaskes, and two touch boxes. One Casque, one pike one lance, and 2 light horstmen staves. One pair of vanbraces, and one gorget. The said Bartholomew Fromons doth acknowledge to have two stronged (gueldings) horses, coloured brown bays fit for light horses.
27th of Janu. 1612 Armour taken out of the house of Henry Britten of Great Bookham gent which now remain in the custody of	One black armour for a horseman with head peece poldrons lases and gantlet. One Black Corslet with a Collar and pouldrons, 3 murrians one musket, One petronell with flask, and Bandelier, One fowling piece, one Buffe Saddle for light horse, one dagger.
Taken out of the house of Richard Hatton of Long Ditton, gent, and now in the Custody of	The back and breast of a Corslet, with a Collar, and a murrion, 3 swords, and one dagger, without scabbards. Two Callibers, one fowling piece. One french pistoll, one flask and touch box. An iron bow, a sheaf of arrows one halbert one particyen, 2 pikes for corslets.
Taken out of the house of Clara Stonden of Esher, widow	One Corslet with pike, and one French pistoll.
Taken from the house of William Copley esquire, and now in the Custody of Sir Tho. Crese (?) Kt.	The Cuirasses of two corsletts, furnished with murrians, swords and daggers. One case of short pistols. One petronell, with a murrian, sword and dagger, and two horsemen staves.

Appended to this is another list, evidently drawn up two years later, giving the names of convicted Recusants. The reader will be able to picture in imagination the tragedies of which the bearers of these names are the heroes and heroines. He will also note that no class of society, nor calling in life, nor state is privileged—gentlemen of station, yeomen, husbandmen, tailors, journeymen, maidens, wives and widows, they are all alike persecuted after the manner as we have seen above, of the hated victims of the Lord Chief Justice Coke.

> "The names of Recusants convicted or indicted within the Countie of Surrey.
>
> "*Recusauts convicted.*
>
> Henry Dorrell senior of Newdigate gent.
> Henry Dorrell junior of Newdigate gent.
> John Dorrell senior Newdigate gent.
> John Dorrell junior Newdigate gent.
> John Gage late of Newdigate esquire
> John Gape (?) of Newdigate yeoman.
> Jane Mullenaxe of Nutfield spinster.
> William Copley of Gatby esq.
> John Sherry senior of Gatton tailor (?)
> John Sherry junior of Gatton husbandman
> Th. Underwood of Gatton husbandman
> Howard Jarman of Lambhte gent
> Richard Phelbye, alias Kilby of St. Savs. in Southwark, tailor
> William Clarke alias Baker of Sutton yeoman.
> George Redall of Send yeoman
> George Redall of Send yeoman
> Elizabeth Redall of Send spinster
> Jane Redall of Send spinster
> George Smythe of Cheam gent.
> William Greene of Estmowlsey gent.
> and Greene his wife.
>
> Henry Brittaine of Great Bookham gent.
> Anne Brittaine his wife
> Joane Morgon of Great Bookham widow
> Th. Tompkins ,, ,, ,, gent
> Marie Nudigat of Ashsted, the wife of
> Henry Nudigat gent.
> Richard Hatton of Longditton gent

Mary Hatton his wife
Dorothye Standen of Esher widowe
Elizabeth Blake of Ewell the wife of George Blake.

Bartholomew Fromond of Cheam gent.
and Susan Fromondes his wife
Francis Davies of Cheam journeyman
Agnes Davies his wife
Edward Scot of Barmondsey in Southwark gent and Joan Scot his wife.
Margaret Scot of the same spinster.

On the back of this document is written:

"For as much as by reason as well of the attendance upon the prince Palatine our dear son-in-law and upon our daughter Elizabeth the Princess his wife, in your journey to Heidleberg in Germany, and your employment there for especial cause of our service you can not be present."

(*Los. MSS. ibidem.*)

What a remarkable endorsement! It is King James I. himself who views this list and stamps it with his approval. Without question the King is as much the mover of this persecution as was Elizabeth in her day.

This note refers to Sir Edward Cecil who was sent with Lady Cecil to Heidelberg; the King, wishing to know from the testimony of eye-witnesses how it fared with his daughter and her little boy, who was born on the 2nd January, 1614.

The date of this document is therefore February, 1614, not 1612 as docketed by Bray; Prince Palatine having been married to Elizabeth on the 14th February, 1613.*

Troubles were brewing in Germany and the result of them for Catholics in England was to be disastrous. The tares sown by the so-called Reformation were showing themselves more and more. Everywhere legitimate authority had been torn up from the body politic, and in its stead cruel despotism was established. The result was not surprising in an immense Empire like Germany. A league of Catholic Princes was formed under the standard of the Emperor, with the avowed object of ousting the Protestant tyranny. The Protestant Princes immediately united under the headship of the Elector Palatine, to defend their threatened supremacy. They assumed the title of "Princes of the Union." James contributed a loan to the Protestant party. War raged on the Continent, and we are told by the aforementioned English College letter that this was the signal for fresh inflictions on Catholics in England. "No sooner did English Protestants hear of the surrender of Aix-la-Chapelle and the storming of Ober-Wesel, than in a paroxysm of rage and fear, they invaded the dwellings of the Catholics, seized every weapon, even to the crossbows used for shooting sparrows leaving them defenceless against robbers or midnight thieves. Levies were made all over the country and there was general excitement. For the fallacious preachers of the '*Fifth Gospel*' gave it out from their pulpits that an immense Catholic army had mustered to extirpate their so-called reformed religion. The Puritans, too, have circulated in books that six armies had sworn to effect their destruction, with an imaginary detail of the forces of each Catholic sovereign, with their banners, their mottoes, and the numbers of their horse and foot. The King and chief men are fully aware that their preachers and swindlers are deluding the people, yet they reluctantly tolerate these gigantic lies in the hope that they may thus obtain the subsidies that Parliament refuse them. But the people are more tenacious of their coin than of their Calvinism and despite the long and impressive exhortations of the minister that they should rally for the defence of their imperilled 'Gospel,' the collectors appointed by the King to gather contributions have been at great pains to get even a crown from certain towns and villages. Meanwhile, we hear on every side fierce denunciations of the Pope as the prime instigator of this War, and of our fellow Catholics as if they were conspiring with foreign powers, but especially of the Jesuits who are held up as the authors and abettors of this league, and of the war which threatens to uproot heresy." This campaign of slander continued ever in new forms with unabated fury, and as the Jesuits were so powerful a body of learned, holy and zealous men, they were the chief ones to be libelled; in fact it was not long before every Catholic priest, nay, even layman, was looked upon as a Jesuit in disguise. The Jesuits were called the Pope's janissaries; the favourite brood of anti-Christ; the sworn slaves of the Pope; the reserve corps of the Catholic Church; the most dangerous enemies of the King and country; the most bigoted advocates for Popery; and the most earnest in maintaining and spreading it.

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* Everett Green, *Elizebeth Queen of Bohemia*, pp. 51 and 95.

One thing should stand out from the history of these times as portrayed by the documents preserved at Loseley; that is, the system which was in vogue in the reign of James I., and which had been devised very nearly a hundred years previously by Henry VIII.

That system was a consistent propaganda of calumny against the Catholic Church and Priests in general. The worst of such a calumny is that in an institution like the Church of God, in which there is a strong alloy of the human element, there are bound to be a great number who would give colour to any calumny. These pages themselves show that there is a great deal of human nature in all men, and perhaps the most human of all our inclinations is to accept with ready credence any tale which is told to the discredit of a third party.

The people generally are very loose judges of the value of evidence, and it is really only in the quiet of later years when the strifes and turmoils which give rise to stories have passed away and no longer heat the passions of men, that in the examination of written testimonies we are able to come to some unbiassed conclusion. Yet even in the matter of history there are circumstances which seem to make it extremely difficult, if not impossible, for many minds to consider facts at their proper value; those circumstances are intimately connected with systems of education, systems that persistently repeat the same old fables long since discredited by the best historians. The circumstances also gain strength from popular sayings and popular festivities, which year in year out, are kept up with that tenacity of a conservative nation. Thus you will open many a dictionary and look for the word Jesuit and you will be told it means a crafty person. Thus on the opening of Parliament the members like solemn mummers acting their part in a pantomine, examine the vaults of the Parliament House to see that no Guy Fawkes has secreted there tons of gunpowder; thus also every year the Guy Fawkes celebrations are kept up; and so *ad infinitum*.

We have seen many times in the course of this work that although there may have been from time to time Catholics who were ready to sell their fatherland to the enemy, or to blow up a vicious and despicable monarch, with his equally vicious government, the vast majority of Catholics remained loyal to King and Country. However, we hope that in time our fellow countrymen may be brought to recognise this fact; but we think that just as the British public only became obsessed with the truth of the calumnies against the Church by dint of the frequent repetition of these calumnies, so also will they only recognise the injustice of such calumnies when the rebutting evidence has been repeated with sufficient insistence.

Now, this rebutting evidence is manifold. We have yet many things to say on the subject in the coming pages; we have seen something of the sufferings which were inflicted upon the Catholics, but so far we have not seen more than an infinitesimal portion of those sufferings. Fairness to the subject demands a closer scrutiny. This book is not a romance, nor a poem, but a true presentment of facts, and from these awful facts we shall conclude that when Catholics as a body remain law-abiding in those things that do not run counter to their consciences, under such terrible treatment at the hands of their countrymen, then indeed must their religion be to them the very life spring of true patriotism.

CHAPTER XVII.

CHARLES I.

JAMES I. died on the 27th March, 1625, and Charles succeeded to the throne. What hopes or forebodings were now the lot of Catholics? After so long a period of systematic calumnies by which Englishmen were taught to loathe the very name of Catholic and to speak always with contempt of what they chose to call Popery and the Popish religion, nothing else could be expected but a continuance of this hatred, and a King, whatever his sentiments towards Catholics might be, was bound to prove ineffectual in any attempt he might make to reverse the order of things.

Charles himself seems to have been much more favourably disposed in that direction; and he was undoubtedly averse to the continuance of this horrible state of things. But the Treasury was in a hopeless condition, and there seemed no prospect of meeting pressing liabilities except by means of an oppressive taxation. As usual the Catholics were make to pay their pound of flesh and the laws against recusancy were brought into force, the fines were imposed with as much rigour as before; in fact all the penal enactments were pressed home as though there had been no change of ruler. I give just one document relating to this period from among the Loseley manuscripts. It was written at the beginning of the reign. The date is the 31st October, 1625. It is signed by the Council. Weston, the Lord Chancellor, although himself at heart a Catholic, has contributed his signature. Again Recusants, whether they be convicted or merely suspected, are to be disarmed. Magistrates are to be urged to a more complete knowledge and understanding of these Statutes against Catholics; complaint is made that these "acts are not to be found where they should be used for light and instruction, the want thereof must needs hinder the execution of that important service." The magistrates were further instructed that the Government intended to act exactly as the late King "of happy memory" had done, namely "to proceed not only with such as were convicted Recusants, but also with such as give any overt suspicion of ill-affection in religion." Note further that the document states that it is the intention of His Majesty's Government to proceed not only against those who are themselves Recusants, or suspected Recusants, but also against those who have their wives, children or servants Recusants or non-Communicants, " or who are otherwise known to be Popishly affected, or such as have any noted or extraordinary number of retainers or tenants Recusants or non-Communicants."

(*Los. MSS. Vol. v. n.* 66.)

" After our hearty commendations to your good Worships. Whereas you lately received directions from these Boards for the disarming in such manner as is thereby signified of all Recusants within the County of your Lieutenancy, who are either convicted or justly suspected according to the Act of State heretofore expressed, because it seems these acts are not to be found where they should be used for light and instruction, the want thereof must needs hinder the execution of that important service. We hold is necessary for your worships' directions in this behalf to impart unto you that which was written from this Board diverse years since to the high Sheriff and Justices of the peace upon like occasion wherein you may find in what sense the late King of happy memory by the advice of the lords and others who were then of his privy Council (with the opinion of some of the Choice Judges of the Realm delivered also thereupon) explained himself touching Recusants justly suspected, viz., that his meaning was to proceed not only with such who were convicted Recusants but also with such as give any overt suspicion of ill affection in Religion, of which sort he understood to be as well those that do not ordinarily and frequently repair to the Church to hear divine service, when there is not just cause of sickness, or other lawful impediment to excuse them as also such as have not for three or four years received the Communion once a year at the length and such as have their wives, children, or servants Recusants or non Communicants as aforesaid or are otherwise known to be popishly affected or such as have any noted or extraordinary number of retainers or tenants Recusants or non Communicants. These sort of people therefore and any of them whom his Majy and the state at this time have the same reason to hold in jealousy we are in his Maj's name and by his express Commandment to require your Lords which as by our former lrs you were directed, to which lrs we refer you, saying that you may forbear the Nobility and Peers if any such be within that County, his Majesty having taken another course for disarming them. Lastly we pray and require your worships that the arms being taken from these and other Recusants be kept in good condition by being scoured and otherwise looked unto as shall be needful through the care of those who shall have the custody of them, but at the charges of the proprietaries. And so we bid your Worship's very heartily farewell.

"From the Court at Hampton the last of October, 1625.

"Your Worship's very loving friends,
"E. WORCESTER.
"THOMAS CONVINTRIE C.S. ARUNDEL and SURREY
"PEMBROKE CARLILE E. CONWEY. R. WESTON. J. EDMONDS

It is very strange, when we come to think of it, this law against Recusancy. "Popery" was a crime on the Statute book; it was synonymous with high treason, at least it was considered one of the forms of that despicable crime. Yet during the reign of James I. and still more during that of Charles I. this "crime" was actually licensed by the Crown: a very huge price was paid for this licence, it is true, but licence it most certainly was. We wonder at such a man whom the Anglican Church has thought fit to canonize, should give his official approval and sanction to this treasonable crime. In folio 36, Patent Book of Dr. Hall, Bishop of Exeter, the author of *Dissuasion from Popery*, is copied his Majesty's allowance under the Great Seal of England, dated March 14, 1628, to John Chichester of Arlington, Esq., and to his wife Anne, to remain Recusants, etc., with the exemption from pains, penalties, etc., during the yearly payment of a specified sum to the Crown. This was certainly an extraordinary procedure, and yet it was of daily occurrence in those days.

King Charles himself was certainly not a convinced anti-Catholic, but deeply impressed with the injustice of the cruel Penal Laws. In fact when occasion offered he actually showed great favour to Catholics, considering the times. A very noteworthy incident of this marked goodwill towards Catholics was the case of George Calvert, a descendant of the noble house of Calvert, in the Earldom of Flanders. Foley tells us that "he was born at Kipling, in the chapelry of Bolton, Yorkshire, about the year 1578. He was son of Leonard Calvert and Alice, daughter of John Crossland, of Crossland. He was admitted as a gentleman commoner of Trinity College, Oxford, in 1593, aged 15, and was there educated and took his degrees. On his return from his travels he became secretary to Robert Cecil, Chief Secretary of State under King James I., and was afterwards made one of the clerks of the Privy Council, and received the honour of knighthood in 1617. In 1619 he was himself appointed a principal Secretary of State, and in the year after the King granted him an annual pension of £1,000. On February 16th, 1624, he was raised to the peerage as Baron Baltimore, of Baltimore, Co. Longford, Ireland. In the same year, 1624, he embraced the Catholic faith, and personally he announced his change to the King, at the same time tendering his resignation of his offices. The King accepted that of the secretaryship, but ordered him to retain his office of Privy Councillor, which he held till the end of the King's reign. He died on April 15th, 1632, and was buried in the chancel of old St. Dunstan's, Fleet Street, London. Lord Baltimore was the first designer of the colony of Maryland. Imbued with something of the spirit of an Apostle, combined with that of a patriot, he desired to see established in far-off Newfoundland a colony of his own countrymen, under the auspices of a name which would recall the earliest Christian traditions in this land. And so, having made the journey with the sanction of his Royal Patron, he strove to carry into effect this design. The name of the new colony was to be the Province of Avalon, recalling that part of Somersetshire in which Glastonbury is situated. The design failed, however, owing to the opposition of French warships which repeatedly attacked the coast. He returned to England not having relinquished the plan of colonization, but with an altered scheme in his mind. He now turned his thoughts to America. There was a country north of Virginia which was unoccupied by any European settlers, and still inhabited by the native Indians. Charles again approved of his plans, but Lord Baltimore died before they could be carried into effect. His son, Cecil, who succeeded to the title, was evidently imbued with the same ambitions as his father; and having obtained from the King a grant of the territory, he called it Maryland, in honour of Queen Henrietta Maria, by order of Charles I. himself. The Charter was dated June 20th, 1632. "By it the territory of Maryland was granted to Lord Baltimore, to be holden of the Crown of England in common soccage as of the manor of Windsor, paying yearly on Easter Sunday, two Indian arrows of those parts at the Castle at Windsor, and the fifth part of the gold and silver ore found therein." (Rec. Jes., Vol. III., p. 326.)

We fancy that what must have influenced the King in his attitude towards Catholics was his distinct leanings towards an alliance with Catholic Spain. With such bigoted antecedents it is not easy to explain how the King should suddenly show kindly dispositions towards them. The change of attitude in the royal family was prepared, however, even when Charles was only yet Prince of Wales, but was contemplating marriage with a Spanish Princess. Such negotiations, although they were eventually broken off, chiefly owing to the immense Protestant opposition, were bound to bring about a modification in the opinions of the Prince. Besides, the direct intercourse with the Pope himself would naturally influence the opinions of the young Prince; and from his attitude in the case of Recusants and Priests, it is evident that he was heartily sick of the gross brutality of the age.

It is indicative of the Prince's growing favour towards Catholicism that he should have received such a testimonial from the head of Christendom as the following letter of Pope Gregory XV.

> "Most noble Prince, health and the light of divine grace, Great Britain being the fruitful Mother of illustrious men, the fame of whose exploits fills both hemispheres, not unfrequently attracts the Pontifical mind to the contemplation of its glories. From the earliest beginnings of the Church, so eager was the King of Kings to claim it as his heritage, that the Roman eagles had scarcely been borne thither, when they were followed, as We are told, by the standard of the Cross. Of its kings not a few had thoroughly learned the science of the saints. Holding forth to foreign nations and to generations yet to come an example of godliness, they preferred the Cross and the strait discipline of religious life to the lust of power, and hence, while in Heaven they have won the principality of everlasting bliss, they have left behind them here below the glorious record of their holiness. In these days, it is true, the Church of England has undergone a change, yet do We still see that the royal race of England continues to shine and prosper by its human virtues, which indeed were a consolation to Our charity and a glory to the Christian name, if only they could be supported and enhanced by orthodox truth. The greater, therefore, Our delight in the glory of your illustrious father and in your own kingly endowments, the more ardent is Our desire to open to you the gates of the heavenly kingdom, and to win for you the love of the universal Church, being further mindful that Pope Gregory the Great of saintly memory bestowed on the people living under the English crown the knowledge of the Gospel Law, and inspired them with loyalty to the Apostolic See, We, though far beneath him in saintliness and virtue, but yet sharers in his name and dignity, deem it incumbent upon Us to tread in his footsteps by striving for the welfare of those dominions, especially now that the purpose you have formed, most noble Prince, excites in Us the hope of no common happi-

ness. As you are now going to Spain with a view to a matrimonial alliance with the House of Austria, it is Our peculiar wish to applaud your design, and to take this opportunity of declaring openly that you hold no small share in the solicitude of Our pontificate, We can easily guess why you wish to wed a Catholic maiden; those ancient germs of Christian piety which have borne such fruit in the souls of bygone Kings of Great Britain may yet yield to God a goodly growth in your heart. For no one would seek such an alliance who cherished within him hatred to the Catholic religion, or who would seek to oppress the Roman See. Wherefore, we have commanded that fervent prayers be continually offered to the Father of lights, that it may please Him to bring you, the flower of the Christian world and the hope of Great Britain, to the enjoyment of that heritage bequeathed to you by your ancestors, who sustained they authority of the Roman Pontiff and put to flight the monsters of heresy. Remember the days of old, ask thy fathers, and they will show you the road to Heaven, by treading which the Princes of this world may enter an unfailing kingdom. Consider, through the open gates of Heaven, those saintly kings of England who, under angelic guidance, have paid due homage to the Lord of Lords and to the Prince of the Apostles in his Apostolic See. Their deeds and examples are as the voice of God calling upon you to follow the pattern of those whose throne you will inherit. Can it ever be that you will suffer heretics to brand as impious, and to doom to the dungeons of everlasting gloom, those to whom the Catholic faith bears witness that they are reigning with Christ, and are set far above all earthly pre-eminence? They who have led you in safety to the Court of the Catholic King, now stretch forth their hands from their happy dwelling to lead you back to the bosom of the Roman Church. For this indeed We implore God of His mercy, with unspeakable sighs for your salvation, extending to you the arms of Our pontifical charity, We embrace you most beloved son, pointing out to you the blessed hope of the Heavenly Kingdom. No greater consolation could fall to the lot of Christendom, than that you restore your far-famed island to the obedience of the Prince of the Apostles, whose authority has for so many ages been held in Great Britain to be the bulwark of kingdoms and the mouthpiece of Divine Truth. This will not be attended with much difficulty if you will but open your heart, which is so set on the welfare of that kingdom, to the Lord Who stands knocking at the door. So anxious is Our charity for the glory of your royal name, that We

> long to proclaim to the world yourself and your most illustrious father the deliverers and restorers of the ancestral religion. Of Our trust in God, in Whose hands are the hearts of kings, and Who hath made the nations of the earth for health, We will not despair of so happy an issue which no effort on Our part shall be wanting to bring about. Do you, on your part, behold in this letter the proof of the solicitude of Our pontifical charity for your well-being. We shall never regret having written, if it but quicken a few sparks of Catholic piety in the heart of a Prince whose continued happiness is the object of Our desires, and whom We would see adorned with the glory of every virtue."
>
> " Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, this 20th day of April, 1623, the third year of our pontificate. John Ciampoli, Secretary." (Rec. Jes., Vol. VI., p. 538.)

The hopes expressed by His Holiness in this letter were not realized. Charles himself was not the main obstacle. The troubles in Germany were causing panic amongst the Protestants in England. They anticipated a spreading of the revival of Catholic activity to England. They had no legitimate reason for the fear as English Catholics had constantly shown aversion to that way of regaining their rights. But the guilty Protestant conscience like that of the haunted murderer was perpetually raising new spectres that disturbed the public peace of mind.

It was not Charles who was the enemy of the Catholic Church in the reign of Charles, but the British people that had been educated in perverse and bigoted ideas about the Catholic Church. Consequently, although the King was sincerely anxious to bring about a change of attitude, he was almost powerless to do so. At first, indeed, while his influence was still that of a despotic monarch, he succeeded in forcing his will somewhat on the Parliament and in modifying the effects of public hatred. But as years passed on, and the Parliamentarians became more and more powerful, the villainies of persecution became more numerous until they burst out with all the vigour and fiendish cruelty of the previous reigns. We have some appalling examples of the cruelty of the people's representatives related in the fourth Douay Diary for the year 1642. For fourteen years the Catholic Church had been granted a respite as far as capital sentence was concerned, although during that time the Priest hunts were continued, priests were imprisoned, Recusants were fined almost without mercy. In January, 1642, King Charles I. left London, never to return till he came as a prisoner to meet his own death.

On January 21st, on the feast of St. Agnes, the Reverend Thomas Greene, *alias* Reynolds, a native of Oxford, alumnus and priest of the Douay College, suffered martyrdom in London. We are told that notwithstanding his advanced years and his naturally timid disposition, his courage on the scaffold was an astonishment to all. He had been condemned to death in 1628, his sole crime being his priesthood. The Douay report tells us that the " most merciful King Charles, at the instance of the Queen, spared his life, so that from then to the present time—that is for fourteen years—he has remained in durance at London. But this year, by order of the Parliament, he was called into Court, and without any investigation of his former cause, or the allegation of a fresh indictment, he was carried to the shambles, and ended by a glorious martyrdom that life which he had enriched with merits, having laboured in England for a long time. For, burning with zeal for God, he had led back to the fold of the Catholic Church many who were wandering from the way of Truth, and becoming a good odour in Christ, he had drawn them from vice to the love of virtue." On the same day Father Alban Roe, priest and Benedictine monk, died a like glorious death for the Faith.

But perhaps the most wonderful of all the martyrs of that year was John Lockwood, who suffered at York because he was a Roman priest. " This he freely confessed, adding that it was the more true as he had been ordained at Rome." His exact age is not certain. According to the Douay Diary he was born in 1555, but according to the Annals of the English College, Rome, the date of his birth is 1561. He entered the English College, Rome, from Douay, for his higher studies, October 4th, 1595, was ordained Priest there January 26th, 1597, and sent to the English Mission school, April 20th, 1598. Bishop Challoner tells us that some accounts give the date of his birth as early as 1546. He was heir to an estate bringing in £400 (£4,800 in our money) yearly. This he renounced in order to devote himself to the service of God. He was the eldest son of Christopher Lockwood, Esq., of Soresby, Co. York, whose wife was daughter of Robert Lassels, of Brackenborough, Yorkshire. He worked in England for twelve years, and was taken prisoner in 1610. He was condemned to death, but reprieved and sent into banishment. Undismayed by the fate which certainly awaited him, he returned again to his country to work for the honour and glory of God. A second time he was captured, tried and condemned to death, and a second time his sentence was commuted, this time to imprisonment. He remained in prison probably till the marriage treaty with Spain, when he was allowed his liberty. It may have been of course owing to the influence of Queen Henrietta Maria that this mercy was granted to him. Thence forth he worked in the Vineyard of the Lord until the year 1642, when he was a third time taken, on this occasion at the house of Mrs. Catenby, of Wood End, near Thirsk. He was carried to York, under circumstances of the grossest brutality, as described by Bishop Challoner in his Memoirs of Missionary Priests, tried at the York Assizes, together with another priest named Edmund Catherick, condemned to death and executed on the 13th April, 1642. Charles' disposition towards Catholics was notable in this case ; he had undoubtedly exercised his eloquence and attempted to bring the pressure of his authority in favour of this aged priest. But that authority was fast becoming null and the bigotry of the Parliamentarians shouted him down.

The execution took place in front of the Royal Manor in York. His Majesty and the Prince of Wales were at the time holding their Court in that Manor ; and we are told that they actually beheld the horrible spectacle, Charles commiserating the lot of the saintly victim. His sympathy, however, was kept as secret as might be for fear of the Parliament. (This we learn from the English College Diary, Rome.) The younger priest, Father Catherick, was ordered to mount the ladder first. Appalled by the spectacle before him (the cross-tree, the butcher's knife and the boiling cauldron), he became deadly pale and began to tremble. Seeing this, the old man, with his weight of eighty years and more upon him, hobbled up and claimed his right of precedence on account of seniority. The right was acknowledged, and with one foot on the ladder he turned to Father Catherick and spoke some words of encouragement. Then, mounting the ladder with the aid of two executioners, as his feeble frame refused to respond to the energy of his soul, he turned once more to the timid priest, and being now sure that his words and his prayers had obtained the strength needful for the terrible ordeal he stood awhile yet in prayer until he was flung off the ladder by the executioner, and died almost immediately. Father Catherick, honouring his noble example, also gave himself to death with the courage of a martyr.

Then follows an incident which shows the barbarity of those times. The sentence had not been fully carried out. The hangman, touched by the fortitude of the noble Eleazar, fled from the scene so as to avoid accomplishing the work of butchery which the Law enacted ; but seized by the crowd, and cajoled and coaxed by a woman of infamous life, he was suddenly transformed into a demon, and returning to the scaffold hacked the bodies into pieces, throwing them amongst the people. Father Lockwood's head was fixed upon the north gate, called Boothman-Bar, close by the King's Palace. Thus was accomplished a work of devilish brutality. Thus was expressed a two-edged hatred of Parliament, against the Church and against the Crown.

The reign of Charles I. was not to end without many such hideous spectacles—again let it be said, because the British people had been nurtured with the poisonous potions of religious hatreds.

The records of Douay College favour us with the name of Dr. Edward Morgan. He was a Welshman from the County of Flint, and a past student of the Douay College. He was 57 years of age, when on the 26th April, 1642, four days after the above martyrdoms, he was led out to suffer the penalties of his priesthood in London. The diary quoted tells us that the day before his passion he enjoyed the ineffable happiness of celebrating Holy Mass, and that during the sacred Mysteries he was so rapt in ecstasy that it was with difficulty that he could finish the Mass ; and this only after he had cried out in the words of St. Xaverius : " It is enough, O Lord," the Holy name of Jesus lingering on his lips with honeyed sweetness.

That same year is recorded the name of yet one more heroic priest. It was Friday, the 19th August, Father Hugh Greene, *alias* Ferdinand Browne, of London, was led out to execution at Dorchester. Again the priesthood was the capital crime. This martyrdom was different from those I have just described. The terrible sentence was carried out with all the bloodthirsty cruelty of the decree. The intrepid Father Greene was cut down from the gibbet while yet alive, and the executioner proceeding to his work, the priest regained consciousness and rose to his feet, but was dragged down by the bystanders by means of the rope which was still round his neck. Then the work of disembowelling was begun. I draw a veil over what followed, and refer the reader to Bishop Challoner's terrible account. Let it suffice for me to say that for upwards of half an hour this martyr suffered the tortures of butchery with the most complete consciousness, uttering the Holy Name of Jesus over and over again, and making the sign of the Cross with his own blood. At last, at the instance of some pitying lady, they ended his agonies by severing his head from his body, and so his blessed soul flew to the glory which awaited him.

I will give two more instances of the raging hate of those times. The first was in the following year ; it was a touching story, and I think it is best told in the words of the Douay Diary :—

> " On the 27th April (1643), Father Paul suffered at London. The Rev. Father Henry Heath, commonly called Father Paul,

when he first came out of England was received into this (Douay) College, then he became a Franciscan and finally Guardian. He, having learnt of the glorious triumphs of the priests in England, who after the inauspicious opening of this Parliament, had with the utmost constancy laid down their lives for the cause of Christ, and feeling himself on fire with the desire to following their footsteps, having asked and obtained leave from his superiors, betook himself to England in the rough dress of a sailor. There he begged his bread from door to door, and on the night of his arrival in London, sleeping in a public place because there was no room for him in the inn, he was arrested as though he were devising some theft or other crime. But, as he had preserved in his hat a writing in which he had expressed his intention of returning to England, and his reasons thereof, with additional arguments in which he defended the justice and lawfulness of such intentions, and asserted the truth of the Catholic religion, he was betrayed by the discovery cf this paper when he was being searched by the officers, and he was committed to prison. There, in a few days, he fulfilled a long time, and he afforded great edification and example to all who visited him; and being shortly condemned to death, he resigned himself into the hands of Almighty God with wonderful tranquility and readiness. He constantly asserted that he never doubted that those who gave up their lives for the sake of God's faith would be filled by God with a singular sweetness of soul and delight, but that he never could have believed that the joy would be so exceeding great as that was which he then experienced which, indeed, was so vehement and abundant he was not equal to bearing it.

" Being asked what it was fitting to hold with regard to the unlawful oath which is called the Oath of Allegiance, he signed with his own hand, when he was on the point of martyrdom, a schedule expressing more clearly his own opinion. And he testified that he so certainly believed that the Oath was repugnant to the truth that he would be ready to lay down his life for the Catholic dogma as much as for any other article of the Catholic religion. While writing it he said: ' I sign this schedule with my name willingly, if need were, I would sign it a thousand and a thousand times in my blood.' At the scaffold he made an eloquent speech, and prayed most earnestly for the conversion of England, until the cart was drawn away and he was left hanging with his hands lifted up for a time towards Heaven."

Finally there is the case of Father John Duckett, who was martyred on the 17th September, 1644, in London. He was a Yorkshire man, and only twenty-eight years of age. He also was condemned because he was a priest. He had been taken with two lay companions who were called upon to inform against him, or otherwise to suffer death. To save his companions therefore he confessed he was a priest. We are told that from the time of his receiving sentence of death till the end of his life his countenance, though usually rather pale, became suffused with colour and assumed angelic beauty. This was noticed particularly as he stood on the scaffold. He had been a man exceptionally devoted to prayer and contemplation and, the better to acquire the spirit of Divine union, he had stayed some time at Nieuport in Flanders to confer about prayer and spiritual matters with his relative, the Rev. Father John Duckett, at that time the Prior of the English Charterhouse.

I might go on to relate the heroic deaths of other priests in England. The roll of martyrs was by no means complete, but I have given these as specimens of the sufferings of our Fathers in the time of Charles I. Loseley, with the document I have quoted in the beginning of the chapter, gives the impulse to the student of history, by referring him in that manner to deeds elsewhere recorded.

CHAPTER XVIII

IN THE WINE-PRESS

THE average reader, running his eye down long lists of names, will carry away very little information; and so, like Mr. Kemp, will conclude that the publication of these names or many kindred documents can have no interest and can serve no useful purpose. But historians are of opinion that in these lists of names we have a mine of information. Hence the very careful preservation of all those documents in the State Papers Office which are nothing else, in a great many cases, but these lists of names. The historian has, over and over again, made a careful examination and study of these names and so been able to piece together first-hand evidence of lives filled with tragedy. It is for this reason that I have not considered it waste of time to decipher sometimes with great trouble the writings on these lists. What names! There are some which tell of the greatest heroic fortitude, names, I may say, of saints; and it is my purpose in this chapter to recall the deeds of heroism that these names conjure up in our minds. The reader will pardon me if I speak quite plainly in the following pages on the subject of the sufferings of Catholics. It is surely right to say that we cannot fully appreciate deeds of valour and courage under sharp trials unless we know the nature of the test by which the Christian athlete earned his crown. Consequently it is a matter of justice to the memory of these great men of old that their lives should be told and retold in history. It is the more just because these men have not infrequently been calumniated or their trials been made light of by many writers. But what is of greater importance still is the place which they occupy in history. After all, a period extending much over a hundred years, far and away beyond that which is comprised by the Loseley manuscripts, is a very important space of time, and to say that during all those years one religious body was signalled out for persecution, and in that body one section in particular was set aside for the very special hatred of their fellow countrymen, must surely indicate a state of things which no historian can afford to ignore. If, therefore, the subject is of importance, it is necessary to examine it to the bedrock itself.

I find that in the Loseley manuscripts here published, some thirty Priests are mentioned. They do not by any means comprise the full number of those who suffered, for the number of Priest-martyrs alone runs into hundreds. In the year 1585, for instance, no less than seventy-two priests were banished, and from a calculation made from various returns to the Privy Council of certain dioceses, there were a great number of priests about that period in prison.

On that question a great deal has been written by others. The following letter will introduce this subject fittingly. It is dated the 23rd April, 1582. Two priests are mentioned in it, Edward Rishton and Thomas Clifton. Both have been condemned in the court of Her Majesty's Bench. The first "for matters of treason," the other "as in case of præmunire." The latter tells us that there are no prisoners in the King's Bench "for matters of religion directly." We have seen what an empty plea and a transparent lie that is, since in every case it was the Mass that really mattered, and the Mass was the treason. What made the Catholic religion treasonable in the eyes of Elizabeth was the refusal to acknowledge her religious headship of the Church. Therefore, although the law declared a Priest a traitor he was not thereby deprived of his privilege of suffering solely for the Faith.

> "Right worshipful, according to the tenor of the direction from you, Mr. Sheriff, for producing of witnesses before your worship at this time and place touching Recusants:
>
> "These are to certify that in the prison of her Majesty's Bench there are no prisoners for matters of religion directly, as at your late meeting at Leatherhead by Mr. Catisbie his letters deputy marshall there was signified unto your worship. Only two priests remain in custody there, committed from the high bar by the judge of the Court of her Majesty's bench, both condemned, The one named Edward Risheton, for matter of treason. The other named Thomas Clyfton, as in case of premunire. This much for matter of truth in the absence of the said Mr. Catisbie, according to my duty, I signify unto your worships. And so humbly take my leave. From the prison of her Majesty's Bench, this XXIIIth of April, 1582.
>
> "Your worships
> "to command
> "Walter Spendlen.
>
> "To the Right Worshipful
> Mr. Slyfield, high Sheriff
> for the Co. of Surrey and
> to the like worshipful the
> Justice of the Peace
> within the same Co. at
> Rigate give these."

(*Los. MSS. Bundle Letters* 1581 *to* 1600.)

This Father Edward Rishton mentioned in the letter was named amongst twenty-one students of Douay College as distinguished for their writings. He laboured in England for some time and was then captured, and in a list of the Public Record Office he is named with twenty other Priests who were banished from England on the 21st January, 1585. In another list we are told that he had landed at Dover with Father Cottam, Dr. Ely and Father Hart in June, 1580. Father Cottam was recognised by the searchers from an accurate description which had been given to them by a spy named Sladd. In consequence of this they were all searched and Father Cottam was eventually condemned and executed as a Priest.

A very remarkable letter, written by Father Rishton in the Tower of London, gives us a graphic description of the sufferings of those times. The letter is preserved in the Record Office. (Vol. 149, No. 61, Dom. Eliz.) Rather should we say that we have here a contemporary copy.

It was written about the end of the year 1580, or the beginning of 1581. It is in Latin, and I will here give the translation. The Latin copy will be found in the Appendix :—

> " The copy of a certain letter which a Priest who was detained in the Tower of London on account of the holy Catholic religion, sent quite recently to his brother Catholics likewise detained in other prisons on account of the same Catholic religion. To it is also subjoined a brief declaration giving an account of the inhuman and barbarous cruelty which other Very Reverend Fathers for the same reason suffered in other prisons far remote from the town.
>
> " Lately they have threatened to inflict new tortures on Mr. Sherwin, the Priest, and then to clear him and his companions out of the way. But in no way dismayed by these threats he announced his readiness to die for the Catholic Faith, not wishing further to prolong his life. We shall be told presently, as I hope, what they intend to do with us. It is far preferable for us once to pay the debt of nature than daily to languish in a living death. Nevertheless there is not one of us who does not from the depths of his heart most fervently pray the great and good God that he might make us worthy to suffer every torture, all torments, nay death itself notwithstanding the bitterness that nature experiences in it and this for the glory of His Name, rather than offend in the least degree His Divine Majesty contrary to our conscience. It is well known, as I think, to many that a good number of our afflicted brethren have undergone the most appalling tortures which for the greatness of the agony which

they cause are worse than death, and that they have endured them with constancy rather than consent to a most abominable sin.

"Examples of this are to be found, especially in Kirby and Cotton, two venerable Priests who were enclosed in an iron instrument of torture (commonly called in English Scavengers). In its horrible embrace they suffered for an hour or more. Others, namely Mr. Skinner, Mr. Bryant twice, Mr. Johnson once, were put cruelly to the test by the most exquisite tortures of what in English is called the Rack. Mr. Alart lay stretched upon this bed of torture for three hours: but for the time being he was not in any other way or more grievously tortured. And more or less after this fashion they put to the test some others of our companions, having first made still greater efforts to induce them to yield to their will. Some were cast into a very deep pit which was pitch dark, being closed in on every side, as in the cases of Johnson, Bristow and Bryant, all reverend Priests. Some languished in the filth of that place for two whole months. Others again they buried in remote and dark corners, after having deprived them of their money and stripped them of their outer garments; and there they left them in a wretched condition, deprived of all hope and help without bed or other necessaries of any kind. Thus they dealt with Stanislaus Bristow and others. The greater number are kept to this very day in solitary confinement, in dark and filthy dungeons, where they can never see a soul, much less hold converse with a friend. Mr. Bryant, of whom I have spoken above, was left for days in a starving condition in which he well-nigh perished, and then to add to the horror of his agony, very sharp needles were violently thrust under his nails, thus causing the wretched victim the most exquisite tortures. From what has been written, most dear brothers in Christ, it can be seen what was the nature and the vehemence of the torments which the sons of God and true servants of Christ have most patiently and unflinchingly borne in defence of the orthodox Faith; and greater still, if need be, shall they undergo with willing readiness. One thing only we ask of His mercy, that He would grant us of His benignity the grace to endure with patience and perseverance until the end. In order that we might the more speedily obtain this grace we implore you to offer your prayers to God for us: for we are not without apprehension, as the Prefect of this Tower was summoned to the Council yesterday and again to-day, to be informed, so we think, what has been decided with regard to us. I wish you well.

"The Catholics imprisoned in the Port or Castle of Hull are kept in close custody, so that no one may see them or minister to their wants. In seven weeks they have received no more than seven Roman asses, and for the sustenance of their life and daily nourishment they have received no more than the bread and beer and small portion of salt fish which was left over from Lent; they have tasted no meat so far since the Pascal feast. They are obliged to pay seven asses (or in English money seven pence) for one quart of beer; and then, which is exceedingly inhuman, water, which is necessary for their use, is denied to them unless they would accept that which is putrid. The Catholic prisoners who are crowded into Wisbeach are treated with similar cruelty. The Reverend Dr. Young, who was for many years professor of Sacred Theology, has exchanged most happily this life for death. There was a certain evil-living and scurrilous woman whom some libertines not many days ago introduced shamelessly into the cell of the most Reverend Bishop of Lincoln (for he is still imprisoned there). She, having cast aside all decency, tempted the old man, who was well-nigh stricken to death with the infirmities of old age, to commit a most loathsome and detestable crime. For very shame I pass over in silence the evil artifices which that virago made use of to weaken the constancy of his perpetual chastity. But the old man resisting with great strength, tried with all his might to expel this impure beast from his cell; but some most wicked hooligans who had let her in threatened the most venerable Priest with rods. Another of these creatures they sent in with the same object to the venerable Priest, Mr. Voact, an octogenarian; after no long delay they were obliged to return to her owing to her continual screams. They heard her shouting 'He has tried with violence to assault me.'

"May the Lord Jesus guard us with His Divine Grace that dwelling always under His protection we may be able to extinguish all these fiery darts of the devil and finally to gain the victory through Him."

The picture that is drawn for us in the foregoing letter is in no way exaggerated; quite the reverse. The sufferings of the Catholics exceeded all description. Human ingenuity had reached a very high degree of perfection in the art of torture. The rack was, of course, a very old invention on which the sufferer was stretched and drawn inch by inch till the bones left their sockets, and then, when the victim lost consciousness through excess of pain, the tension was relaxed and restoratives applied till consciousness returned, and, with it, a renewal of the torture. The rack was the most favourite method of inflicting pain, as by it the rack-master, as he was called, was able to judge to a nicety how much the wretched man was able to bear without suffering death. However, it occasionally happened that, such was the anger of the cruel torturers when they saw that they were defeated by the courage of their victim, they actually tore him asunder by means of this horrible engine.

There was another form of racking in use at the time of which we are speaking, which was called the torture of the Wall. This is described by Father Gerard, S.J., in his autobiography. The victim was suspended by his wrists, sometimes even by his thumbs alone (as we learn from the documents circulated by the Council after the death of Brother Nicholas Owen, S.J.). In this manner he was left to hang for hours together, suffering acute agonies. Father Southwell was tortured on the wall by Topcliffe. His calves were strapped up tight to the thighs, and he was left hanging by the wrists in the house of Topcliffe for seven hours, while the cold blooded villain went into the city to transact some business and forgot all about the sufferer till he returned. Then, finding him unconscious, and, as was thought in a dying condition, he revived him. On coming to himself he vomited a quantity of blood ; and, because he still refused to betray the names of those who had offered him shelter, Topcliffe ordered him to be again hung up. To this Father Southwell quietly answered : " Then, let us go in the Name of the Lord."

In the account of Brother Nicholas Owen's martyrdom we learn that, although he was suffering from hernia, and the law strictly forbade the racking of such a one, in order to ensure his living through the torture, they encircled his waist with a large iron band ; but such was the vehemence with which they tortured him, adding huge weights to his feet, that at last nature gave way and he was literally torn asunder. The account tells us that throughout the whole of his passion they were unable to extort anything from him but the most fervent ejaculations of the Holy Names of Jesus and Mary.

Now, while we are treating this subject of the awful suffering of our forefathers in the faith, a visit to one of those terrible prisons where the life's blood of martyrs was copiously shed, would not be out of place.

In these pages many prison houses are mentioned, where, with heroic fortitude, the confessors of the faith were subjected to the cruellest of tests. They are like so many wine-presses from which came forth the precious vintages that are the glory and delight of the everlasting mansions.

The most famous of them all is the great fortress which stands to this very day almost untouched by the corroding influences of time and greed it looms over the banks of the Thames and is called the Tower of London.

It is one of the most historic buildings in the whole of England. It carries the mind back over eight hundred years. It was about the year 1078 when William the Conqueror first commissioned the Benedictine Gundulf, of the Abbey of Bec, in Normandy, to design the fort. This Gundulf was a friend of St. Anslem, Archbishop of Canterbury, and afterwards Bishop of Rochester. He built the great keep called the White Tower.

It is probable that Ranulf Flambard took a hand in its development. This unscrupulous man so severely condemned by Ordericus Vitalis, was the Chancellor of the Exchequer of William Rufus, and he was undoubtedly a mighty builder. Durham, of which he was later made Bishop, owes much to his energies. He built up the banks of the Wear, began the erection of the Cathedral, and earned fame especially by the vastly strong curtain wall which he erected. The little parish of Godalming, some two miles from the Loseley of this our story, owes its church to him. His royal patron is said to have " pilled and shaved the people with tribute especially to spend about the Tower of London." It is extremely probable, therefore, that Flambard assisted in this operation, as he did in many other gleanings of his sovereign. He enjoyed the distinction of being one of the first distinguished prisoners in that stronghold. On the occasion of the accession of Henry the First to the throne, he lost favour with the Crown, and was committed to the Tower, from which, however, he escaped by bribing his gaolers, and then attached himself to Robert, Duke of Normandy.

During the reign of Richard I., Longchamp, the then Chancellor and Bishop of Ely, dug the immense moat round the Tower.

Many of the most stirring events of English History are connected directly or indirectly with this great monument. The struggle between King John and the Barons had, to a very large extent, this fortress as its scene of action. In fact, it may be said without exaggeration that, for well-nigh eight hundred years, no place has been more mentioned by English historians. No palace has seen more brilliant pageants issuing forth from its walls, no place has held so great a number of august prisoners, no prison has resounded more with the shrieks of the tortured, and no arena has shone with greater deeds of heroism.

For the benefit of those who are unfamiliar with this historic fort a description of it would not be out of place, and I shall therefore ask the reader to follow as patiently as possible the simple directions and reflections which are here detailed.

Like all such strongholds its approach is guarded by a moat, which is about one hundred feet wide, and was formerly flooded with the waters of the Thames, but is now used as a parade and playground for the garrison. Four bridges with their causeways spanned the moat. To the west stood the Lion Gate Bridge; the second was (and still is) that of the Middle (or Byward) Tower; the third faces the river at Traitor's gate, under the St. Thomas Tower, and the fourth is that at the eastern extremity, near to a dam which connected the tower above the Iron Gate with the tower formerly called Galleyman's Tower, or "the tower leading to the Iron Gate." The chief approach to the Tower from the land side was by means of a drawbridge at the Byward. You would then enter at the Lion Gate and pass over a causeway to the Middle Tower. But the Lion Tower, which was so called on account of its proximity to the Tower menagerie, has together with the beasts been removed. The Middle Tower is now the first by which the present visitor enters the fortress. It has been greatly modernised. It is called Middle Tower on account of its original position between the Lion and Byward Towers, to the latter of which it formed the outwork. It protects the western and land approach to the fortress.

Next we come to the Byward Tower, which forms the gatehouse of the Outer Ward of the Tower, and dates back to the reign of Richard II. Passing under this gatehouse we reach the Inner Ward. Here is the Traitor's Gate on one side, and opposite it St. Thomas's Tower. Formerly cross-walls, guarded with strong gates, defended the Inner Ward, but these have long since disappeared, together with the grated walls which shut in the passage across the Ward from Traitor's Gate to the Bloody Tower.

The Wakefield Tower and its companion, the Bloody Tower, form one block of buildings. It is chiefly the work of Henry III. Formerly it was called the Record or Hall Tower, and for many centuries contained the documents relating to the fortress, now kept in the Record Office in Chancery Lane. Its second name of Hall Tower was probably given to it because of its proximity to the great hall of the Palace, which was destroyed by Cromwell. Its present name is, no doubt, derived from the prisoners who were taken at the battle of Wakefield in December, 1460, when the

Lancastrians, led by Warwick, defeated the Yorkists. The unfortunate prisoners were interred in a vaulted chamber in the basement of the tower. The dungeon was octagonal in form, twenty-three feet in width by ten feet in heighth. It walls are thirteen feet in thickness. There were some frescoes on the walls of the first floor. These were destroyed by Lalvin, the restorer. During the Jacobite war in 1745, between sixty and seventy prisoners were crammed into this dungeon. Half of them died.

The regalia was kept in the upper chamber of this Tower. The chamber is octagonal in shape, thirty feet in diameter, with bays opened into the walls. The beautiful carved ceiling is a modern copy of the original. In the bay on the north-eastern side are two deep recesses, that under an archway being the original entrance into the chamber and connecting it with the palace. It is now walled up. The recess to the south-east was formerly an oratory, and is mentioned in the Tower records of the year 1238. Tradition points to this room as being the scene of the murder of Henry VI. by Richard III., who is supposed to have entered through the passage from the Palace, and finding Henry praying in the oratory, stabbed him to death.

The Bloody Tower is a building of three storeys, with an elevation of forty-seven feet. The entrance is guarded by a portcullis, which, like that of the Byward Tower, is still in working order: these two are said to be the only remaining portcullises in England still capable of being used. The little princes were murdered in this Tower. Here also the brutal Judge Jeffreys died of delirium caused by drink and despair.

A subterranean passage ran to the east of the Wakefield Tower from the White Tower, and opened out towards the river front at the eastern side of St. Thomas's Tower, at a depth of five feet below the actual surface of the ground. It was six feet high, and so narrow that only one person could pass along it.

Tower Green has buildings on three sides. On the southern side is the King's House, now occupied by the Lieutenant of the Tower.

Overlooking the Thames is the Council Room in which many martyrs were examined.

At the south-western corner of the King's House is the Bell Tower, a passage leading into it from the first floor of that building. A bell formerly hung in the turret of this tower—hence the name.

The Bell Tower, dating from the time of Richard I. or Henry II., is an irregular octagon, sixty feet in height and thirty in diameter. The lower portion is of solid masonry, the walls varying from nine to thirteen feet in thickness. There are only two floors in this Tower, the lower having a fine vaulted ceiling. The room in the upper storey is a circular chamber, eighteen feet across, with walls eight feet thick. This prison is reached by a narrow staircase from the King's House, and is lighted by four windows. Blessed J. Fisher was imprisoned in the upper chamber in the reign of Henry VIII., Blessed Thomas More being confined in the one below.—(Gower.)

At the entrance to the uppermost room the following anonymous and undated inscription was yet to be seen in 1830: "By torture strange my truth (trovths) was tried, yet of my liberty denied. Therefore reason hath me persuaded that patience must be embraced though hard fortune chaseth me with smart, yet patience shall prevail."

The Bishop of Ross, John Lesley was confined here for two years.

The Beauchamp Tower stands at a distance of 141 feet from the Bell Tower. B. Thomas, according to Dom Bede Camm, was confined here. Here also languished Philip, Earl of Arundel, who was eventually executed in 1595. But his death was not, as Bayley and Gower say, beheading, but poisoning. (State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, Vol. CCXXXIV. 48), nor was the alleged offence that of aspiring to the hand of Mary Queen of Scots, but solely that he was reconciled to the faith of his forefathers. It would appear that Elizabeth had made advances to him which were indelicate in the extreme, for he was married and possessed of a little boy. Soon afterwards, with unregal meanness, she sent Lord Hunsdon and Walsingham to "draw him out," as regards religion, artfully concealing herself with Lord Leicester in order to overhear the conversation. He laughed at the she-supremacy over the Church. He had long been condemned to pay a heavy fine as a recusant, and had been imprisoned for some years. In this state, according to his own account to Lord Burghley, he was "full of all misery and void almost of any comfort" (30th March, 1590. State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, Vol. CCXXV. 41, CCXXXI. 48). When the Armada was expected he was carefully watched. Two fellow prisoners, William Shelley and Sir Thomas Gerard, examined separately, were terrified into asserting that Lord Arundel had on a certain occasion induced an old priest to say Mass for the success of the Spanish invasion; but this assertion had only been secured by a threat of torture and death, and the witnesses who had made it refused to face the Earl when he was put upon his trial before his peers. Burghley on this occasion cross-examined Lord Arundel with art and skill, but it is clear, from a consideration of the evidence, that the latter had simply lifted up his prayers to Heaven for himself and his companions—all threatened with assassination—and that the charges were certainly not proven. However, after an hour's deliberation he was found guilty of being reconciled to the old Faith, and was condemned to death. The sentence was not carried out until seven long weary years after, when poison was secreted in his food. Elizabeth, with a refinement of cruelty, kept the axe suspended over him, allowing him to remain in daily anticipation of his end. The poison acted slowly and caused great agony during two months. The blessed Martyr's inscription may still be read. It runs as follows: "Quanto plus afflictionis pro Christo in hoc saeculs tanto plus gloriæ cum Christo in futuro. Arundell, June 22nd, 1587. Gloria et honore eum coronasti Domine. In memoria æterna erit justus." ("The more we suffer afflictions for Christ in this world, the greater shall be our glory with Christ in the next. With glory and honour hast thou crowned him, O Lord. The just shall be in everlasting remembrance.")

Another inscription in this prison is that of Dr. John Storey: "1570, Thom. Store Doctor." He was a distinguished civilian and had frequently written in defence of the old Religion. A brief notice of him occurs elsewhere in this book.

Another inscription reads as follows:—"Thomas Miagh which lieth here alone that fain would from hence be gone by torture strange my truth was tried yet of my liberty denied 1581. Thomas Myagh." Again we see other cuttings in the wall such as Thomas Rooper 1570, Edward Cuffin, 1562, William Beverige 1562 (probably a Priest), Edmund Pole and "A Pole, 1564, S. H. J. To serve God. To endure penance. To obey fate is to reign."

Note the inscription of Thomas Abel (A-Bell). He was a priest of great learning and an Oxford Doctor of Divinity. He had been domestic chaplain to Catherine of Arragon and had offended the King by championing Catherine's cause during the trial of divorce between her and Henry. Soon after the divorce he was called upon to take the Oath of Supremacy, but refused. For this offence he was drawn, hanged and quartered as a traitor on July 30th, 1540. He had been confined in the Tower seven years, and during the space of a little over a year he had been tortured thirty-seven times. Above his inscription is that of Dom Adam Sedbar, prior of the Cistercian house of Jervaulx, in Yorkshire. He was called upon to surrender his monastery to the King. But as the monastery was not his own private property, he was unable to betray his trust, and therefore refused to do so. He suffered martyrdom in 1537.

In a line with his inscription is that of Dr. Cook, Prior of Doncaster, who was hanged and quartered at Tyburn in 1540, for denial of the King's Supremacy. In all there are ninety-one names on the walls. (Gower, p. 34, Vol. I.)

But it is now time to leave this prison cell of manifold memorials and to visit other portions of the Tower.

To the north, and attached to the Beauchamp Tower is the Chaplain's house, with an uninteresting modernised front facing the Green, and but a few paces distant is a small paved plot of ground railed in by order of Queen Victoria. Here is the site of the scaffold. In former times the ground around this spot was a place of burial, being the churchyard of the church which faces it.

St. Peter ad Vincula was built in the reign of Henry I. and was therefore in the Norman style. It was burnt in 1512, and a new building was erected about the year 1530. Macaulay expressed his disgust at the vandalism which has in more recent times " transformed this interesting little church into the likeness of a meeting-house in a manufacturing town." Since then further restorations have given it a somewhat closer resemblance to the original sixteenth century building. Stow, writing in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, says that there lie before the High Altar " two dukes between two queens, to wit, the Duke of Somerset and the Duke of Northumberland, between Queen Anne (Boleyn) and Queen Catherine (Howard), all four beheaded." Besides these, Gerald Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare, and Thomas FitzGerald and his uncles, Viscount Rochford and Lady Rochford, Thomas Cromwell, Blessed Margaret of Salisbury, and at least two Pooles (his nephews), the Earl of Essex and the Duke of Monmouth, and the Scotch lords who took part in the insurrection of 1745 are buried here. Although a tablet near the entrance bears the names of B. J. Fisher and B. Thomas More, it is extremely doubtful that these two are here interred.

At the back of the Chapel of St. Peter, and at the north-western angle of the Inner Ward, stands the Devereux Tower, which contains two storeys. This Tower dates from the reign of Richard I. Its appellation dates from the time of Elizabeth, when Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, was here a prisoner. The upper part of the Tower is modern. Formerly it was most gloomy and forbidding. A small winding staircase within the tower leads to a couple of prisons constructed in the thickness of the Ballium wall. A secret passage is supposed to have led thence, to the Flint Tower, which stands to the east of the Devereux Tower, communicating also with the vaults under St. Peter's Chapel. Nothing remains, however, in the present modernised state of these passages or prisons to indicate their former appearance.

The Flint Tower lies due east, at a distance of ninety feet from the Devereux Tower, but as it was found to be in an entirely ruinous state in 1796, the old fabric was pulled down and the present ugly brick tower rose in its place. The old tower had been known by the name of "Little Hell," probably from the noisomeness of its dungeons, and its evil reputation for possessing the worst lodgings in the fortress. Ninety feet from the Flint Tower stands the Bowyer Tower, of which only the base is ancient. This Tower dates from the reign of Edward III. Formerly there was a vault in a dungeon in this Tower closed by a trap door, which opened on a flight of steps; from these steps a narrow cell led into a secret passage, made in the thickness of the Ballium wall. This was one of the many secret passages which ran below ground and of which an important one was discovered when the Main Guard building was demolished in 1899.

Mr. G. J. Clark thinks that a secret passage ran between the White Tower and the King's House; and Father Gerard's account of the way he was led to and from the White Tower and the Governor's or King's House points to an underground passage between those buildings. It has been surmised that a subterranean passage led from out the Tower below the Thames to the Southwark side of London. As we have seen, in the Beauchamp Tower a secret passage was discovered in the thickness of the Ballium wall, where persons might have been placed to watch and overhear all that went on within the tower. (Gower.)

The Bowyer Tower was so named from the manufacturing of bows which was situated in this Tower.

The Brick Tower and the Martin Tower have been shamefully modernised by that master vandal Sir Christopher Wren. The Tower of London is in truth not the only place in which he had perpetrated barbarous restorations. Witness Bow Street Church. In the Martin Tower the Blessed Ralph Sherwin was confined. He was taken in London in 1580, and was imprisoned in the Marshalsea, and afterwards taken to the Tower, where he was several times racked. He was tried, together with Fr. Campion and five other priests. He died at Tyburn on December 1st, 1581.

Following the Ballium Wall for about one hundred feet, we come to the Constable Tower, next to which is Broad Arrow Tower. In this latter were many inscriptions of interest to us. Whitewash has almost obliterated them. Britton and Brayly in 1830 gave a list of those then visible. Among them are the names of Giovan' Battista 1556, Thomas Forde, 1582, John Stoughton 1586 and J. Gage, January, 1591. They were most likely all priests. This at least is the opinion of Gower.

Near the top of this tower a small doorway opens on to the platform that runs along the Ballium Wall. Close to this doorway is a narrow cell six feet deep and three and a half feet wide, with only one small loophole to admit air and light.

The Salt Tower forms the south-east angle of the Inner Ward. It is probably one of the oldest buildings in the Tower. It dates from the reign of William Rufus. It possesses a vaulted dungeon with deep recesses in the walls. Inscriptions are again found in the walls of this Tower. Father Gerard and Father Walpole were confined in one of the lower cells of this Tower. Both were tortured several times.

The Cradle Tower is only a few paces from the Salt Tower. It was built in the time of Henry III. It had several dungeons. From the roof of this tower Father Gerard and Mr. Arden made their escape by means of a rope and the assistance of two Jesuit lay brothers, John Lily and Richard Fulwood.

The White Tower is, as we have said, the oldest portion of the great fortress. It is approached by a flight of steps. In Norman times these steps did not exist, for Norman strongholds had no entrance on the ground floor ; ingress and egress were by an external staircase, which could be removed at the approach of danger.

We ascend to the first floor by a spiral stone staircase in the thickness of the wall. At the foot of the stairs were found, during the reign of Charles II., some children's bones, supposed to have been those of the little princes. Because the story of the murder of these little boys rests on the authority of Sir Thomas More, Bayley and Gower and others have thought fit to reject it.

We now reach the state apartments. They comprised two floors, the first of which was the Council Chamber. It is now occupied by a magnificent collection of armour, one of the finest in existence. In another room is a collection of iron collars and other instruments of torture formerly described as having been taken from captured vessels of the Spanish Armada. But this is not true. The iron collar, is very massive, with a row of iron spikes within its ring, which, when fastened round the sufferer's neck, must speedily have caused death. Lord Dillon vouches for its having been used in the Tower long before the Spanish ships were seen in the Channel. They were used for extorting confessions from Catholics. These are in a case, together with what are now called Skeffington's irons, and some thumbscrews and bilboes. These so-called Skeffington's irons were indeed used as shackles, but they are not that instrument of torture commonly called "Scavenger's Daughter." We shall see presently what was the nature of this cruel instrument. Here is also the execution sword probably used at the execution of Anne Boleyn. The Axe and Block are also in this room. On this block and with this axe were struck off the heads of Lords Kilmarnock and Balmerino in 1746 and of Lord Lovat in the following year.

A very narrow passage in the thickness of the wall (the main walls on this storey are thirteen feet in thickness, the cross walls eight feet), leads to the Chapel of St. John. With the exception of the Lady Chapel at Durham Cathedral, St. John's Chapel in the White Tower is the most beautiful of the Norman Chapels in England. It is probable that the walls of this Chapel were decorated with frescoes and hung with tapestries, the windows to the east glowing with figures of saints and angels. Henry III., in 1240, ordered three stained-glass windows for this Chapel, and in one of these, that looking to the north, was pictured " Our Blessed Lady holding her Divine Infant." In the two others, looking to the south, " the Holy Trinity, with St. John, Apostle and Evangelist." The rood screen and cross were also ordered by this King, and " two fair images to be set up and painted." The latter were probably representations of St. Edward holding a ring, which he presents to the Patron of the Royal Chapel.

When the Reformation came in 1550, St. John's Chapel was despoiled of all its artistic treasures, by order of the Government. Its frescoes were coated with whitewash, its stained glass windows were destroyed and all its ecclesiastical ornaments removed. In later times the Chapel became a repository for the Tower records. Then it was actually proposed to turn the building into a military tailor's warehouse. Prince Albert, however, saved it from further destruction by ordering a removal of the archives and a thorough cleansing of the premises.

Gower says that the Council Chamber is on the fourth floor of the Keep. This is called the State Floor. The room to the west which is now called the Council Chamber, was the scene of that episode at the commencement of the reign of Richard III., immortalised by Shakespeare, when that monarch accused Lord Hastings of treason, and ordered him to be taken out to instant execution (" Richard III.," Act III., Scene 4). The chamber is ninety-five feet long by forty-six wide. Within the exterior wall runs a vaulted passage communicating with the stairs in the north-eastern turret. It was in this passage, which is only three feet in width, that the soldiers were concealed when Richard had planned the death of Hastings. In Norman times this chamber was used as a State Prison, and it was from one of its windows that Bishop Flambard let himself down by a rope. It was also the prison of Charles of Orleans in the reign of Henry V.

Formerly the basement and the prison within it could only be reached from above, by the staircase running through the circular turret. In the vault or sub-crypt under the Chapel of St. John is the frightful prison called "Little Ease," and here Guy Fawkes is supposed to have passed seventy-five days. Blessed Edmund Campion was thrust into this cell immediately on entering the Tower and kept there for four days. Father Briant, on being taken down from the rack after hours of intense torture, was confined in "Little Ease" for fifteen days. Father Stephen Rowsham, of Oxfordshire, in 1583 or 1584 was confined in Little Ease for eighteen months.

Facing Little Ease is the Torture Chamber. Herein suffered most cruelly many of our martyrs.

The present entrance from outside is quite modern. Formerly this room was in total darkness being below the level of the ground. The walls are fifteen feet thick at this level. What is now the entrance with its wooden steps, was formerly filled up with solid masonry. Thus the agonising screams of the tortured could never penetrate from these dungeons to the outer world. Father Gerard relates that when he was brought into this room he was shown the rack and the various instruments of torture ranged along the walls and the uses of them were explained to him, and on his refusal to answer questions he was suspended by the wrists for several hours. Father Gerard describes the horrible sensations which were caused by this suspension, and how through sheer agony he swooned several times. While in this torture he was plied with questions in order that he might betray the names and whereabouts of his friends; but on his giving no answer to his tormentors, Waade said "then hang there till you rot," and turned away and left him. Once he had to be revived by warm water being poured down his throat; he was then hung up again.

The Rack was eighteen feet long. Hallam in his "*Constitutional History*," says that the rack was seldom idle in Queen Elizabeth's reign. The holes in which the four posts of the rack were placed are still discernible in the floor. The torture of the rack was so severe that several priests are known to have died under it. Father Campion was left on it all night; and Norton, the rack-master, boasted that he had stretched Father Briant a foot longer than God had made him.

Amongst the State Papers, document after document has come to light showing the hideous cruelty practised upon Catholics of those times. One Richard Fulwood, a layman, thus details his own miserable lot in Bridewell :—" He had hardly enough black bread to keep him from starving. His abode was a narrow, strongly-built cell, in which there was no bed, so that he had to sleep sitting on the window-cell, and was months without taking off his clothes. There was a little straw in the place ; but it was so trodden down and swarming with vermin that he could not lie on it. Besides all this, he was daily awaiting an examination by torture " (*Records of the English Province,* Vol. I., p. 494, London 1877).

The prisons of the country were full of Catholics suffering for their faith. The number of priests and lay people who died heroic deaths during the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., James I., Charles I., and even later, will perhaps never be known in this world. It would be an almost impossible task to make any reliable caculation ; and I have made no attempt to do so. A remarkable statement, however, comes from the pen of Father William Holt, who wrote in the year 1596. He says : "all the Catholic Bishops of England, and nearly all the old Clergy have died off in prison, or in exile or in other places. Five Seminaries founded beyond the seas for students of this nation, together with the Society of Jesus, have sent forth no less than six hundred good and well-trained Priests into England. Further, after the glorious confession, death, imprisonment and repeated banishments of a number of them, there are still in England three hundred Priests occupied in teaching the Catholic faith and administering the Sacraments, without counting a remnant of the old clergy, who are still engaged in these ministries." (*Rec. Jes. Collectanea* Part II., p. 1242).

As we stand in the Torture Chamber the mind is haunted with the memory of the horrible instruments which furnished this apartment. First the rack : this was a large open frame of oak, raised three feet from the ground. The prisoner was laid under it, on his back, on the floor ; his wrists and ankles were attached by cords to two rollers at the end of the frame ; these were moved by levers in opposite directions, till the body rose to a level with the frame. Questions were then put, and if the answers did not prove satisfactory, the sufferer was stretched more and more, till the bones started from their sockets.

The Scavenger's Daughter was a broad hoop of iron, consisting of two parts, fastened to each other by a hinge. The prisoner was made to kneel on the pavement, and to contract himself into as small a compass as he could. Then the executioner, kneeling on his shoulders and having introduced the hoop under his legs, compressed the victim close together, till he was able to fasten the extremities over the small of the back. The time allotted for this kind of torture was an hour and a half, during which time it commonly happened that, from excess of compression, the blood started from the nostrils; sometimes, it is believed, from the extremities of the hands and feet.

Iron gauntlets were so made that they could be contracted by the aid of a screw. In them the victim was suspended by the wrists for hours together. This caused intense agony in the whole body, and the arms and hands became swollen, so that when the torture was repeated the awful pain increased proportionately.

Iron masks, thumb screws, iron boots, to crush the members of the sufferers, were also to be seen hanging from these walls.

Instances of hanging up prisoners by the thumbs are to be found among the cruelties inflicted on Catholics of those days. Thus Father John Ingram " was hung up by the joints of his fingers and arms in extreme pain so long that the feeling of his senses was clean taken from him " (Notes by a Prisoner in Ousebridge Kidcote, in *Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers*, 3rd series, p. 314. London, 1872).

We might ask here, while still, in spirit, we stand in the Chamber of Horrors, how is it possible for human beings to be guilty of such fiendish cruelty as that which is described by the records of past ages? What is the history and psychology of this awful tragedy of human brutality?

The subject is too large to be dealt with at length in this volume; but it has an important bearing on very many questions in history.

We therefore cannot pass it over in silence.

Punishment being called by jurists " the sanction of the law," the application of legal penalties has ever played a most important part in all legislation. Hence there can be no doubt that an unjust or unmeasured use of this dangerous sanction by any government must influence adversely the verdict of history. Man's better feelings revolt against brutality of every kind, more especially when it is exercised against those who have not yet been convicted of crime. We are shocked by the very mention of torture. By torture, I mean a studied infliction of pain which is protracted beyond the length of ordinary corporal punishment, and is designed to produce a growth of agony in proportion to its duration. But when we read of its having been applied, in numberless cases, with the sole object of extorting evidence, our sense of justice is greatly offended. We readily admit that there are cases where it is a crime to hold back information, and in such cases, when the refractory witness is justly convicted, condign and adequate punishment should be inflicted, but never torture in the sense above defined. What, indeed, is the value of evidence extracted by torture? Under the maddening influence of pain, a man may be forced to say anything. What, then, are we to say of those cases where torture was applied to draw from innocent men and women the most sacred and inviolable secrets, to make them betray their friends, to oblige them to reveal that which they had known only under the seal of confession, or to force them to reveal the whole state of their consciences?

Now, we know that Catholic governments were by no means free from the charge of torturing; but I have no hesitation in asserting that this charge is to be laid at the doors of Protestants rather than of Catholics, and I maintain that these pages help to strengthen this judgment.

David Jardine "*A reading on the use of torture in the criminal Law of England previous to the Commonwealth*," says that "though in England the application of torture is not expressly forbidden by any Act of Parliament, there is no instance of its application subsequently to the Commonwealth (1649-59)." I am not prepared to follow him in this view. However, previous to the so-called Reformation torture was undoubtedly in use. Sir Edward Coke, in the 3rd Institute, p. 35, relates the traditional story that the rack was brought to the Tower by the Duke of Exeter in the reign of Henry VI., and was for that reason called "The Duke of Exeter's Daughter."

Sir John Fortescue, Chief Justice of England, says that torture was "against Magna Carta, Cap. 29. "Nullus liber homo aliquo modo destruatur; nec super eum ibimes, nec super eum mittemus, nisi per legale judicium parium suorum, aut per legem terrae." And accordingly all the said ancient authors are against any pain or torment to be put or inflicted on the prisoner before attainder, nor after attainder, but according to judgment. And there is no one opinion in our books, or judicial record (that we have seen and remember) for the maintenance of torture or torments." In the 4th Institute, p. 48, the same writer, in commenting upon the above words of Magna Carta, again asserts that they amount to an express prohibition to torture.

It is related by Holinshed and other chroniclers, that in 1468

Sir Thomas Coke, Lord Mayor of London, was tried for High Treason, and convicted of misprision of treason, upon the single testimony of one Hawkins, elicited by torture; and that Hawkins himself was convicted of treason upon his own confession on the rack, and executed. Jardine says that we can hardly entertain a doubt that torture prevailed under the despots who filled the throne in ages preceding the sixteenth century, when foreign warfare or intestine tumults were rife. He admits that there is difficulty in authenticating particular cases, because in such of the council books as are extant of a date previously to the reign of Edward VI. the torture warrants are not entered. It was not the practice to record these warrants in the minutes of the Privy Council before the middle of the sixteenth century. We are not, however, to suppose that we have no express evidence that torture was used in more ancient times. One instance in the reign of Henry VI. I have already alluded to, as related by Holinshed; many others are mentioned by chroniclers and historians as occurring during the fifteenth century; and in the reign of Henry VIII. there is a recital in Act of Parliament (27 Hen. VIII., c. 4) that few offenders of a particular class would confess "without pains or torture."

"In the same reign, too, we find Sir William Skevington, a lieutenant of the Tower, immortalising himself by the invention of a new engine of torture, called Skevington's Irons, or Skevington's Daughters, which was known and dreaded for a century afterwards under the corrupted name of the Scavenger's Daughter."

By the Commons' Journal (14 May, 1604), it appears that at that time a committee was appointed by the House of Commons to inquire as to the state of a dungeon called "Little Ease" in the Tower. The committee reported that "they found in Little Ease in the Tower, an engine of torture, devised by Mr. Skevington, some time lieutenant of the Tower, called Skevington's Daughters; and that the place itself was very loathsome and unclean, and not used for a long time either for a prison or other cleanly purpose."

The instrument called Scavenger's Daughter is thus described by Tanner in his "History of the Jesuits": "The chief form of torture used by the English after the rack is that called the Scavenger's Daughter, the very opposite of the former. Whilst the rack on which the hands and feet are bound in opposite directions tears the limbs apart, by dragging them from their sockets, the Scavenger's Daughter on the contrary violently binds and presses them as it were into a round heap. The body is thus bent up in three ways, the legs are pressed on to the thighs and the thighs into the stomach. The body is thus enclosed in two iron arches, the ends of which are forced together into a circle by the efforts of the executioner, while the body of the wretched victim is almost crushed by being shut up in a shapeless mass. This torture is frightful and much more horrible than the rack. By its cruelty the whole body is so shut in that in some cases the blood exudes from the extremities of the hands and feet, in others the wall of the stomach is broken and the blood flows abundantly through the naustrels and throat" (Tanner's Societas Europoea, p. 18).

Registers of the Proceedings of the Privy Council during the reigns of Edward VI., Mary, Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I. are still in existence, with the exception of occasional intervals of a few years; and in these books there are numerous entries of warrants from the Council authorising the application of torture for the purpose of compelling the disclosure of political conspiracies and crimes of various descriptions. Edward VI., 5 Nov. 1551, "directs the Constable of the Tower and all others that from time to time shall have the ordering of the Tower and the prisoners, there, to be assisting to certain commissioners for putting the prisoners, or any of them, to such tortures as they shall think expedient." Edward VI., 7th Jan., 1552-3, to Lieut. of Tower to "cause two persons lately taken upon suspicion of a heinous murder to be put to the tortures."

The earliest recorded instance of the use of torture in the reign of Queen Mary occurs in 1555, soon after her marriage with Philip of Spain, and it is remarkable that there is no evidence that torture was used towards any of the numerous persons concerned in Sir Thomas Wyatt's rebellion, which took place soon after Mary's accession to the throne.

Jardine cites eight cases of warrants for torture during Mary's reign, and then he points out that Bishop Burnet, in his "History of the Reformation," cites expressly from the Council books several of the above-mentioned instances of torture during the reign of Mary, referring to them as proofs of the Roman Catholic persecutions of those days, and of a premeditated design on the part of the King and Queen to introduce the Spanish Inquisition into England. The enumeration which Jardine had made comprises all the cases of torture mentioned by Burnet from the Council books as having occurred in Mary's reign, and adds several of which he does not appear to have been aware. Among these recorded and authentic cases, "I believe," says Jardine, "it cannot be proved that any one arose from the prosecution of heretics. In some instances it may be conjectured from a comparison of dates and circumstances, that this was the case; but there is no direct or even probable proof of the fact; and, on the other hand, it is obvious from the entries themselves that the majority of them referred to murders, robberies, embezzlements, and other crimes wholly unconnected with the ordinances of religious bigotry. Admitting, however, the truth of those tales of torture which have been enrolled and perpetuated in the annals of Catholic persecution upon the questionable authority of Fox's *Martyrology* it is hardly possible that Burnet, especially if he wrote with the Council books before him, could have been ignorant that the use of the rack was not peculiar to the reign of Mary. Yet the Protestant Bishop, composing his history under strong party prejudices, is especially careful to throw these cases of torture into his enumeration of the enormities of a Catholic reign as so many examples of the wickedness of religious persecution, and equally careful to cite not a single instance of the same kind of injustice from the Protestant reigns which preceded and followed it. I have already shown instances under the government of Edward VI.; I now proceed to that of Elizabeth; and in the long catalogue of the cases of torture which occurred in the reign of a sovereign whom Protestant historians delight to honour, you will not fail to observe that many instances, and those sometimes the most prominent for refinement of cruelty, unquestionably and avowedly arose from Protestant persecution," pp. 21 and 22.

"Among other instruments of power which prerogative had placed at the disposal of the sovereign, the torture was one peculiarly applicable to the discovery of the real or supposed treasons of religious fanatics; and accordingly, if we may draw our conclusions from the entries in the Council books, there is no period of our history at which this instrument was used more frequently and mercilessly than during the latter years of Elizabeth's reign," p. 26. A Catholic layman, named Thomas Sherwood, a person of education, had been committed by the ecclesiastical commissioners for hearing a Mass, and upon being examined, had confessed his belief in doctrines which were considered to imply that the Queen, being a heretic, had no title to the Crown, and consequently to amount to high treason. On the 17th of November, 1577, the Attorney-general is directed to examine Sherwood for the purpose of drawing from him the names of other persons who entertained similar doctrines, and to ascertain from whom he had derived the arguments contained in his former confession, and orders are given to the Lieutenant of the Tower to place the prisoner in the "Dungeon among the rats" if he does not answer willingly. This horrible dungeon is often mentioned by the Catholic annalists of Elizabeth's persecution. It is described as a cell below high water mark and totally dark; and as the tide flowed, innumerable rats, which infest the muddy banks of the Thames, were driven through the orifices of the walls into the dungeon. The alarm excited by the irruption of these loathsome creatures in the dark was the least part of the torture which the unfortunate captives had to undergo; instances are related where the flesh has been torn from the arms and legs of prisoners during sleep by the well-known voracity of these animals. Sherwood's courage and constancy overcame the horrors of this dungeon, and, continuing his resolution, a warrant was issued from the board on the 4th December, 1577, authorising the Lieutenant, the Attorney and Solicitor-general, and the Recorder "to assay him at the rack." This having failed, he was executed in Somersetshire.

As we have already seen, the dire sufferings of many Catholics are recorded in numerous epitaphs engraved on the walls of the Tower. These cuttings are read by thousands of visitors. But, for the most part, the sight-seers leave the precincts of our English Calvary unimpressed by anything but the bigoted fables of the Marian Persecution for ever repeated as Gospel truths by the tutored guides of error.

In the basement of the White Tower are several cells which are in total darkness. When they were used as prisons the prisoner was deprived of light and air. It is said (without any foundation—at least so thinks Gower) that Sir Walter Raleigh passed his first imprisonment in one of these. On the walls of one of these dungeons was carved the inscription of a priest, R. Fisher: "Sacris vestibus indutus dum sacra mysteria servans, captus et in hoc angusto carcere inclusus.—R. Fisher." ("While clothed in sacred vestments and celebrating the sacred mysteries I was taken and locked in this narrow prison.—R. Fisher.")

This is the last inscription which is shown to you as you leave the now silent and deserted dungeons. It seems to sound the clarion call to deeper and more wholesome reflections.

When we read the lists of prisoners in the Clink, in the Marshalsea, in the King's Bench, in Bridewell, in the Tower, etc., etc., we can conjure up pictures of the most dire sufferings inflicted often by the villainy of gaolers who were well aware that their charges were anathema to the general public; we can imagine the filthy dens in which they were left to rot, and the more disgusting food which was their daily bread; we can imagine the cold and hunger and the vexations of those pestering ministers who were perpetually assailing them by their attempts to draw them away from the path of Truth; and then we can understand how it was that many names which appeared at first regularly on the lists of prisoners, gradually dropped out of the calendar and were heard of no more.

The ingenuity, which was exercised for the purpose of increasing the sufferings of Catholics in those days, would be almost incredible if it were not so clearly proved by the most undoubted testimony. Cardinal Allen in his " Defence of the English Catholics " tells us that it was not only the physical pain of the actual tortures to which they were subjected, but the mind was played upon to terrible purpose. Those who had been inhumanly racked were immediately afterwards, not infrequently, taken close beneath the windows or past the doors of other Catholics in order that their groans and lamentations might strike terror into their hearts ; sometimes, too, Catholics were taken down to the torture chamber in order that they might hear the shrieks of those inside ; sometimes they were even laid upon the rack for the sole object of filling them with terror, and then taken away without having gone through the torture.

It would be in place here to give a brief account of the life and martyrdom of Father Alexander Bryant, who is mentioned in the letter I have quoted at the beginning of this chapter.

He was a native of Somersetshire, and had been educated at Oxford, where he entered as a student at Hart Hall in the year 1574 at the age of seventeen. Philip Roundell, the master of the house, was a man very favourably disposed towards Catholics, and his teachings influenced Mr. Bryant eventually to embrace the Catholic Faith. From Oxford he went to Rheims, and thence to Douai where he was ordained a priest in 1579. On coming to England, he settled for a time in Somersetshire and there he converted the father of Robert Parsons, the Jesuit. On the 18th April, 1581, he was taken prisoner at midnight by Norton, who raided the house where he was lodging. Norton took three pounds in money from him besides clothes, then conducted him to a magistrate who committed him to the Counter in London. There he endured great misery until the day after the Ascension when he was removed to the Tower of London.

Father Bryant was of such handsome appearance that when at Oxford he was called " the beautiful Oxford youth." We are told that " his countenance beamed forth a serenity, innocency, and amiability almost angelic, and this not only during youth, but even at the moment of death, nay, after he had courageously and gloriously sustained the most inhuman and horrible tortures in the Tower of London." This angelic appearance was the true outward expression of his most beauitful soul. Being always keen-witted and of a sharp intellect, he rapidly mastered all the sciences that came his way. His knowledge of philosophy was acquired at Oxford ; and when in the seminary, he made very rapid progress in his theological studies. We are informed that he was " an excellent Priest, well read in sacred literature and illustrious in the splendour of many virtues who, while carrying in his breast a certain Divine emulation, strengthened by incredible patience, constancy, and submission of soul, poured itself forth by a gentle and sweetly flowing speech into the hearts of his hearers. An invincible hero, and a worthy soldier of Christ." (Rec. Jes. Vol. IV.)

In the house where Father Bryant had been taken had dwelt a short time before Father Robert Parsons, himself, and a Mr. Roland Jenks, who had lost one of his ears in punishment for the profession of the Catholic Faith. Mr. Jenks was a book-binder and had bound Father Parson's books. It is believed that it was Father Bryant's connection with the famous Father Parsons that earned for him the savage manner of his treatment both in the Counter and in the Tower. They were determined, if possible, to force from him the information which he was able to give. The great learning of Parsons and the busy propaganda which was worked under his direction by means of the press were sources of intense irritation to the Protestant ministers no less than to the Council. Father Bryant therefore, was asked to inform as to the whereabouts both of the Jesuit, and of his printing press. In order to break down his courage while in the Counter the gave him neither food nor drink until tortured by a burning thirst, he strove to allay the feverish longing by catching in his hat the rain that dropped from the eaves. Undaunted, he was taken, as we have said, to the Tower, there to be put to more severe tests. While he was enduring the keen agonies which have been described in the letter of Father Sherwin he remained bright and cheerful, reciting the psalm Miserere, and begging forgiveness for his tormentors. Such indeed was the marvel of his courage that Dr. Hammond, who was present, stamped and stared as a man half beside himself, saying " What a thing is this! If a man were not settled in his religion this were enough to convert him. This is an evident miracle, but, it is a miracle of indomitable pertinacity in this Popish Priest ; otherwise from the very pain of the torture he was bound to confess not only facts, but cognisance of them, nay, even his very inmost thoughts." The spectacle was evidently a scandalous one to the reverend doctor ; for he would stay no longer, and on leaving he said : " I would not on any account that anyone were here present who was not well and solidly grounded in our faith." However, the martyr's crown was not yet won :

great contests lay before him. He was rent and torn upon the rack; But, marvellous to relate, he simply laughed at his tormentors calling them lazy, saying : " Is this all you are able to do ? If your racks are nothing more than this, come on with a hundred others for the sake of this cause ; for I am able to endure far severer torments for the sake of the Catholic religion."

Father Bryant himself wrote that in the midst of all these efforts of the persecutor, he was most wonderfully fortified and consoled by the Holy Ghost, so that while actually under torture he was insensible to pain. But God did not deprive his martyr of the glory of a martyr's crown, since immediately after the tormenting he became a victim to the most excruciating agonies. It was this Father Alexander Bryant, of whom Norton boasted that he had " made him a foot longer than God had made Him." He was also subjected to the horrible torture of the Scavenger's Daughter. From the rack he was taken by order of the Commissioners down to an underground prison which they called Walesborne, or the place of " horrid aspect." In this hideous pit he lay for fifteen days without any power to use his racked limbs, in the extremity of pain, and well-nigh stripped of his clothing. From this pit he was carried again to be racked with the most ferocious cruelty ; twice again on the following day they strove in the same way, ineffectually, to break down his marvellous courage.

At last, after all these and many other torments, on 22nd November, 1581, he, together with Father Edmund Campion, John Short, William Filbie, John Hart, Lawrence Richardson and Thomas Ford, were condemned to death. The sentence was as follows : " You must go back to the place from whence you came ; there to remain until ye shall be drawn through the open City of London upon hurdles to the place of execution, and there be hanged, and cut down alive, dismembered and disembowelled, and your entrails burnt in your sight ; then your heads to be cut off, and your bodies to be divided into four parts, to be disposed of at her Majesty's pleasure. And God have mercy on your souls."

It is related of this intrepid athlete that on the way to Westminster Hall, where sentence was to be delivered, he placed himself at the head of the little band of martyrs and held aloft a wooden cross which he had made out of a piece of a trencher, and on which he had sketched in charcoal the image of our Saviour. On being rebuked by a Protestant Minister and ordered to cast it away, he said : " Never will I do so, for I am a soldier of the Cross, nor will I henceforth desert this standard until death." Then, to another who sought to wrench it from him, he replied : " Thou are able to tear this Cross from my hands, but from my heart thou canst by no means pluck it, until I shall shed my blood for Him Who for my sake poured out His upon the Cross of Calvary."

December 1st, 1581, was the day of Father Bryant's final triumph. Led forth from the Tower, he was bound on a hurdle together with Father Campion, and drawn by two horses through the mud and rain. The procession took the usual route by Cheapside and Holborn. A crowd of men followed it, and women stood at their doors to see it pass. . . . A little farther, and the hurdles were dragged under the arch of Newgate, which crossed the street where the prison now stands. In a niche over the gateway stood an image of the Blessed Virgin yet untouched with the axes and hammers of iconoclasts. Father Campion (and no doubt Father Bryant and the other martyrs) as he passed beneath, with a great effort raised himself upon his hurdle and saluted the Queen of Heaven, whom he so soon hoped to see. The Rev. Christopher Issam, a priest who saw the martyrs on their way, always declared that they had a smile on their faces, and as they drew near Tyburn, actually laughed. There was a cry raised among the people: "But they laugh; they don't care for death."

Notwithstanding the rain and slush, vast crowds gathered everywhere to witness the final scenes of the noble passion.

They pressed round the hurdles; they thronged at the windows and on the house-tops; they gathered in dense masses around the scaffold. There were many Catholics there to witness the glory of Christian fortitude and to hear the great sermon from the Cross. A Catholic priest was there too, very near the gallows; hard by, Sir Francis Knowles, Lord Howard, Sir Henry Lee, and other gentlemen who were officially present.

The question might here be asked what efforts had been made by influential Catholics to prevent the crime that was about to be committed? The Duke of Anjou, the accepted suitor of Queen Elizabeth, was then at Court. He was a Catholic and his chaplain had accompanied him from France. What interest or part did he take in the tragedy? His presence in London was undoubtedly inconvenient to the Government and had given cause for much discussion among the members of the Council. Some of them, not unnaturally, thought that he would intercede for the priests, but others, with more knowledge of the man, said that the Duke was occupied with quite different affairs. The execution was settled upon; but the time was yet undetermined. Some were for postponing it till the Duke had left; others on the contrary, thought that it would afford an excellent warning that the marriage would make no difference to the Crown's attitude towards Catholics. Moreover, they urged that a delay would give time for the most influential of the English nobles and gentry, and for the foreign courts, to intercede for the lives of the prisoners. Finally, they urged that it was necessary to strike terror into the hearts of Catholics who might think that either Spain or France would afford them some measure of security.

These were the ostensible reasons alleged for hurrying on the execution; the secret reason was that all the Puritanical part of the Council, together with Sir C. Hatton, who himself aspired to the Duke's place, wished to put an insult on the Frenchman, and by some means or other to stop the marriage for which they pretended to be so anxious.

Thus no delay was allowed to endanger the cruel designs; the following Saturday, 25th November, was fixed for the execution; and to make their object doubly efficacious Burghley selected from amongst the condemned priests, as companions with Campion, Sherwin, to represent the English Seminary at Rheims and Bryant to represent the English College at Rome. However, the day was again postponed to the following Wednesday, and then to Friday. The reason this time seems to have been one of the most petty spite. It was reported to the Council that when the Martyrs were told that they must die on the Friday, they were overjoyed because it happened to be the eve of the feast of St. Andrew the Apostle, and they comforted one another with the Apostle's salutation to his Cross—"O bona crux!" The day was therefore further postponed to Friday, the 1st December.

The Catholics bestirred themselves to their utmost bent to obtain the intervention of the Duke of Anjou. It is said that he willingly promised everything, and is even supposed to have made some attempts at performance. When the day was at last fixed, they again beseiged his doors. The Duke was on the green. It was one of those bright days when the chill of winter lifts and the land is wrapt in the warm embrace of St. Martin's little summer. His Grace was enjoying full measure of the sunshine in a game of tennis. He was not to be disturbed, so his chaplain was deputed to receive the message of the importunate Catholics. They told him that the martyrs would only suffer in body, but the Duke's fame and honour would be lost if he permitted this foul tragedy to proceed. When the Duke heard the message, he stood hesitating, like a man just awakened from a deep sleep, stroking his face with his left hand. After a while he raised his right hand with the racket in it, and said to his companion: "Play!" thus dismissing the matter from his mind. The Duke, therefore, played his game of tennis; and the priests were murdered on Tyburn.

"Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His Saints."

Glorious indeed was the death of Campion, Sherwin and Bryant. Like conquerors they ascended from Tyburn to Paradise; yet, not like the heroes of worldly dynasties, for they made no show of arrogance or pride; but faithful to their Prototype, as lambs they were led to the slaughter. An eye-witness of the passion said that Father Alexander Bryant "was a man not unlearned; of a very sweet grace in preaching, and of an exceeding great zeal, patience, constancy, and humility."

A strange custom of those days of savage vengeance gave the condemned man the questionable privilege of speaking from his platform of shame to the assembled multitude. It was intended to afford the victim of the Law an opportunity of public reparation for his fault and to provide a wholesome lesson to any who might feel disposed to imitate his example.

The occasion was turned by our martyrs to excellent account; and we learn from contemporary Records that these sermons from the scaffold brought the grace of conversion to the Catholic Church literally to thousands of spectators.

Father Bryant, standing in the cart under the gallows, with the rope prepared round his neck boldly proclaimed that he had been brought up in the Catholic faith; and as he proceeded to say that he had been a student of Oxford, he was interrupted by some one; "What have we to do with Oxford? Come to the purpose, and confess thy treason."

"I am not guilty of any such thing," he answered, with great animation, "nor am I deserving of this kind of death. I was never at Rome nor at Rheims at that time when Dr. Saunders came into Ireland" (at the time of the pretended conspiracy).

To this end he spoke and protested, as he would answer before God.

The eye-witness who wrote the account of what took place, goes on to say: "He spoke not much, but being urged more than the other two to speak what he thought of the Bull of Pope Pius V., he said he did believe of it as all Catholics did, and the Catholic faith doth. And hereupon professing himself to die a true Catholic, he did so with an expression of such profound joy, and with his naturally innocent and angelic face, that he attracted the eyes and hearts of all upon himself, and confessed aloud that the cause of his exuberant joy was that God had been pleased to choose him to give his life in defence of the Catholic faith, and that this joy was wonderfully increased because he died with Edmund Campion, who professed the same faith with him, and whom he revered with all his heart. And indeed it was only his intimacy with the Fathers Campion and Parsons, and his refusal, amidst the most exquisite tortures, to reveal anything about them, that was the real cause of his death. Then, as he was saying the Psalm *Miserere mei Deus*, the cart was withdrawn and he was left suspended with more pain, by the negligence of the hangman, than either of the others. As the rope had not been properly adjusted, it slipped from its place and suspended the holy martyr for some time by the chin alone ; hence when cut down, he was still living and made great efforts to rise ; but he was violently thrown down and in a state of full consciousness was disembowelled and dismembered ; but ere the limbs were severed, evidently in the extremity of agony, he raised his mangled body and stood upright on his feet to the great astonishment of all beholders.

" Behold how the just man dieth."

What became of Father Edward Rishton, who wrote the famous Latin letter from the Tower ?

According to the *Records of the English Catholics*, Appendix p. 291 (quoted in Rec. Jes. Vol. IV., p. 516) he was sent into exile in 1585, together with seventy-one other priests. He had been condemned to death together with Father Campion, but was reprieved and kept in gaol until his banishment. He was evidently worn out by the cruelties of his persecutors ; as he died a few months after, *i.e.*, on the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, 1585, at Pont-á-Mousson. He was a good scholar, he wrote a valuable diary of events in the Tower of London, and also a supplement of Sander's *History of the English Schism.*

PART III

The Reformation in Surrey and Hampshire

CHAPTER I

THE VINTAGE

THE strong wine of Divine Love is infallibly tested in one way alone, by sacrifice. It was always so ; it was so in the time of Job, and it was so in the time of Christ, and it has been so ever since. Moreover, it has been God's way with mankind on earth, not only to exact love, to which He has the fullest right, but to test this love from time to time by suffering. This earth is for that. And the doctrine of sacrifice is one which the Catholic Church has always taught and always been ready to put into practice. There are mysteries in the doctrine itself which the Church does not pretend to unravel, but following in the paths of her Divine Master she accepts the principle as a foundation for all Christian virtue. As God in the time of Job used Satan as the instrument whereby His servant should be put to the test ; and in the time of Christ again allowed Satan to tempt His own Divine Son and the ministers of Satan to nail Him to the Cross ; so, also, in the course of history has He used the instrumentality of perverse and evil minded men to put His faithful servants to the fiery test.

It is not, however, the purpose of this volume to attribute evil motives to the persecutors of the Catholic Church. Many of them, like many of Christ's own persecutors, may in truth have thought they did God a service, but as these are memories and reflections called up by the documents before us, we wish to examine in all seriousness what assuredly are the memories that they bring before us, and the reflections that they create in our minds.

In Part II. of this book we have followed the advent of the Seminary Priests to this country, their work and their sufferings. In this chapter we shall consider, by the aid of the Loseley MSS., the tribulations of the laity chiefly in Surrey and Hampshire..

Before, however, examining those records which tell of the strifes of Catholics, of their sufferings, and of their victories, I wish to put before the reader four documents which tell of the ever-increasing efforts on the part of the Government to repress and extirpate all Catholic thought from the land. The first is a letter from the Council to Sir William More and others ordering them to search the houses of recusants of every station in life and to confiscate all the armour that they find in these houses with the exception of what the magistrates may, at their discretion, consider necessary for the defence of these houses. The document may at first sight appear strange reading to us in these days, but we must remember that Sir Robert Peel had not yet come to organise the stalwarts who keep the peace so admirably in our day. In those days every man was his own policeman, and the retainers and servants of domains were the guards and watchmen of their masters' life and property. Not only that, but in case of war the gentry furnished much of the arms and even armour which were necessary to equip their men servants for the service of their Country. It was a grave indignity for subjects to be despoiled of their weapons ; and we know what fairness was to be expected from the Magistrates who despoiled them when they did so with rancour in their hearts. We know also what value is to be attached to the undertaking given by the Council who had proved themselves over and over again treacherous and unfaithful.

Council to Sr W. More Sir Th. Browne Sr Fr Garre etc.

Order to search for weapons of recusants.

(*Los. MSS., Vol. v., n.* 38.)

> " After our hearty commendations. Whereas the Queen's Majesty hath at this time found it very expedient for divers good considerations to have such as be known and convicted as disobedient subjects in the realm for Their refusing to come to the church and divine service to be unfurnished of armour, until such time as they shall be content to become conformable to her highness's laws in resorting to church, and for that purpose hath made especial choice of you to have the charge thereof in that Country. We think meet that presently upon the receipt of these our letters you shall assemble yourselves together in some apt place to confer about the due execution of the contents of the same. And first upon the view of the schedule here inclosed containing the names of such recusants as have heretofore been certified out of that County you shall divide yourselves and at one selfsame time to be agreed on between you repair in person with as great secrecy as you may to the houses of the principal recusants within the said County and there proceed to the demand and seizure of such armour and weapons as you shall find in the said houses or elsewhere belonging unto them, amongst which it is meant that jacks and all other prevy coats shall also be

comprehended receiving the same of the owners or of such as have charge thereof by bill indented between you and the said parties or any other to whose custody they are committed. And letting them also understand that it is not otherwise meant by her majesty but that the said armour and weapons shall be wholly restored unto them, at any time when they shall dutifully conform themselves to her laws in resorting to the church. And for other recusants of the meaner sort within the said County, you shall appoint by your warrants certain honest persons apt for that purpose to repair to their houses, and there to stay their armour and weapons in like sort which we think meet to be done at selfsame time that you shall stay the rest, enjoining the said parties in her Majesty's name that shall so be employed to use the execution of that service in as much secrecy as conveniently may be.

"But in this general disarming of the recusants it is nevertheless thought meet that there should be left unto them for thc necessary defence of their houses such proportion of bows and arrows and blackebilles as yourselves shall in your own discretion find convenient for that purpose. The said armour and weapons so to be staid by you we think meet should be carried and brought from the houses where you shall find the same and to be bestowed in your own houses there to remain until you shall receive farther direction from us for the disposing of the same otherwise. And in case you shall find just cause to suspect that any armour belonging to the same recusants be conveyed away out of their houses we think it meet you should then by oath examine the recusants themselves, if they shall be resident within the said County, or their servants or any other you shall seem good unto you to sift out the matter and the truth thereof.

"We do also think meet that you shall search and disarm any other recusant or recusants in that County not contained in this schedule that you may have notice of to be indicted and convicted And if there be to your knowledge any that is indeed a recusant, though he be not convicted, you shall certify as thereof with your opinion what armour they may have. And lastly her Majesty's pleasure is that you make inquiry and certify what yearly revenue as well the recusants mentioned as any other recusants within that county do or may receive yearly both in their own right and in the right of their wives as also what value their goods be. Wherein her highness doth look that no partiality be used and that you make good show of both wise and well affected persons to be employed in the said inquiry which we pray you to certify with as much convenient speed as you may. So we bid you hearty farewell. From Greenwich the 27th April 1585.

" Your very loving friends
TH. BROMELEY, Canc. W. BURGLEY, Ps
LEVESEY, J. H. DERBY, R. LEYCESTER,
F. KNOLLYS, CHR. HATTON, FR.
WALSINGHAM, HUNSDON."

We shall see later how this search for arms was carried into effect. The second document was written in the following year; it is unsigned and directed to Sir William More. The manuscript will interest most people in these days of food shortage; it might also be of very particular interest to the Food Controller. England was threatened with an unknown danger. Would the Spanish Armada be successful or not? Precautions were in any case to be taken against a possible famine. Joseph was making the rounds of the granaries of Egypt. But, strangely enough, although the fear of invasion was a serious source of anxiety to our rulers at the time, their hatred for Catholics generally was their first consideration; so we now see them tightening the strands whereby Catholics are eventually to be strangled. They are all to be brought up and dealt with summarily by the Justices.

" *To certify Recusants and search Farmers' barns and graneries for corn 9th May*, 1586.

" After our very hearty Comms. I send you here inclosed the copy of such Certificates as I have received from Doctor Lewen ocncerning the peculiars, and from Doctor Hone, for the whole shire, I have collected out of those, such as I take we are to deal withall, by virtue of the Letters from the Lords of her highness's privie Council, touching their Recusancy, and if they be of any value so they are to be certified, otherwise to be certified in the latter end of our certificates with the rest. Because you know how we have been abused, I have thought good, for the prevention thereof to speak with Mr. Secretary, who will not have us deal with men's wives, nor yet with their husbands for them, until we hear further from his honour, who saith he will move the rest of her majesty's most honourable privy Council about that matter. Because the most part of those are near unto you and not very far from Dorking as Ewell, Cobham, St. Mary's in Guildford, Stoke d'Abernon, Dunsfold and Walton-upon-Thames, therefore if it will please you to make letters unto those Recusants of every of those parishes, for the causing of every of them to appear before us at Dorking, the Thursday before Whit Sunday, and to put my name, I shall like very well thereof. For the residue that are in Southwark, Lambeth Streatham, Micham and Newington, if I can get Mr. Levesey or Mr. Bellingham to join with me in this service, they shall be dealt withall according to the Council's letters, and put into the certificate, if they be of any value, and will answer any thing yearly to her Majesty.

" Concerning the last letters from her Majesty's privy Council, touching corn and grain, I have sent copies, and imparted the division you set down, for which mine own part, I like, and so, I think, do all the other Justices. But I have not yet heard from them. I have only in Blackheath and Wooton added Mr. Cowper's name. For the searching of the farmer's barns in the parishes not far from Dorking, that serve that market, there had need be divers of us together at the doing thereof, it were not meet that Mr. Hifield and I should deal with Mrs. Gainsforde's barns alone, for sundry respects which I will show you at our meeting. I pray you consider what shall be meet to be done, for the search of the barns, granaries and other places where corn is like to be hidden against our next meeting, that we may then thoroughly agree thereupon and accomplish their Lordships letters, according to their meaning herein, and in every other respect so far as we may by law and shall be requisite. I doubt I shall not be at home before the end of the Term. Thus ceasing longer to trouble you, I beseach the Lord to preserve you and yours in prosperous health to His pleasure. From my house in the Blackfriars, the 9th of May, 1586.

The above is unsigned.

Endorsed

" To the Right Worshipful
Sir William More
give these with speed."

(*Los. MSS., Vol. v., n.* 32.)

We are also favoured in this case with a draft of More's reply to this letter. What interests us chiefly in this reply is the language which he uses when speaking of Catholics and the Catholic Church. A Magistrate who carefully drafts a letter in which he speaks of people not yet even convicted as a " popish crew " and of their church as an " anti-Christian and malignant Church " does not give us much confidence in the fairness with which he is likely to carry out his work.

> *Copy of Sr. W. More's answer to preceding letter written on fly leaf of same. Calls Catholics a "Popish crew," and the church an "Anti-christian and malignant Church."* 1586.
>
> " As well as I like your decision, yet I may apply unto you the latter end of a sentence of Terence that is " Cum nunquam extrudi potest itur ad me." When none of you will vouchsafe to admit him to be joined with you then you cast him out of the devision wherein he is and join him in service with me. Albert Reynolde Homeden be not certified yet I think him to be a recusant. For I have heard that he will neither come to church himself nor suffer his family. Considering the conditions and qualities of thie man, I think him very meet to be placed amongst the popish crew and to be of that Anti-christian and malignant Church. Mr. Bostock the High Sheriff, I think, is able to inform us of Reynolde Homeden's estate and what other recusants be in those parts, their names, estates and livings."

The third document which I wish the reader to peruse is one from the Council to the Lord Admiral and Lord Lieutenant of Surrey. The danger of invasion was becoming more and more real, and now we see the Government seizing upon this additional plea for increased rigours against Catholics. We can understand the fears of the Council lest those whom they had hitherto persecuted with such persistent cruelty and for whom they had entertained nothing but distrust or hatred might now turn to the foreign power that was coming, with the hope of an alleviation of their lot. How unjust and ill-founded was this distrust, however, the history of those times has proved beyond question. Of course, there were disaffected spirits even among Catholics, disloyal subjects who can now scarcely be blamed for their disloyalty to a Crown and Country which treated them so harshly. But in comparison with the vast numbers of Catholics who remained staunch even to the hour of death when their last words were words of love and devotion to their Sovereign, those disaffected spirits were very few, and it was extremely unfair to charge the whole body of the faithful with their disloyalty. But, as I have remarked before on the subject of sacrifice, this was not by any means the first time in history when such methods were used. Christ was accused of sedition by the Jews, and so were Christians by Nero. Now, therefore, we must not marvel that Catholics are to be imprisoned because they are as a body accused of favouring the Spaniard.

"*Council to L. Admiral L. Lieutenant of Surrey.*

(*Losely MSS.*, Vol. V., n. 30.)

"After our right hearty Commendations to your L.

"Whereas her Majesty hath thought it most convenient (being advertised sundry ways of the great preparations that are made already of ships and men) to provide all things necessary to defend any invasion or attempt that might be made against the Realm or other her Majesty's Dominions amongst other things considering how of late years divers of her subjects by the means of bad instruments have been withdrawn from the due obedience they owe to her majesty and her laws, In so much as divers of them most obstinately have refused to come to the church to prayers and devine service, for which respect being so addicted it is hardly adventured to repose that trust in them which is to be looked for in her other good subjects. And it is also certain that such as should mean to invade the Realm would never attempt the same but upon hope (which the fugitives and rebels abroad do give and assure them) of those bad members that already are known to be recusants. It is therefore thought meet in these doubtful times they should be looked unto and restrained as they shall neither be able to give assistance to the enemy, nor that the enemy should have any hope of relief and succour of them. Wherefore, her Majesty's pleasure is your L. shall cause due inquiry to be made what number of Recusants are in that County and of what quality and ability they be of wherein such gents as have been Commissioners before in those matters are able to instruct you. And thereupon because the most obstinate and noted persons to be committed to such prisons as are fitted for their safe keeping, the rest that are of value and not so obstinate to be referred to the custody of some Ecclesiastical persons and other gents well affected, to remain at the charges of the Recusants to be restrained in such sort as they may be forthcoming and kept from intellegence one with another. Wherein hoping your L. will take such order herein as shall be most requisite in that respect. We bid your L. heartily farewell. From the Court the 4th of January 1587.

Your L. very loving friends

JO. CANT CHR. HATTON CAN. W. BURGHLEY H. BESBY C. HOWARD T. HENESY, FR. KNOLLES, JAMES CROFT A. POULET F. WOLLEY

> " We pray your L. to certify unto us the names of the Recusants you shall commit to prison and to the Custody of others and how they are bestowed.
>
> " To our very good L. the Lord Admiral L. Lieutenant of her Majesty's County of Surrey, and in his absence to the Deputy Lieutenant of the said County."

Let us read that document in the light of promises definitely and solemnly made to Catholics and we will the better understand the faithlessness of her Majesty's Privy Council. Promises are all mere " scraps of paper "—nay, baits to entrap the unwary and to fool the public. They are to be understood very much in the sense of those endearing adjectives and pious exclamations which characterise very nearly all the official documents of that time—pure hypocrisy. But the following document will convey my meaning more accurately than any explanations which I could give. It was, as I have said, a definite and solid undertaking of the Government to Catholics; how soon to be broken we have just seen, and we shall see much more fully in the following pages :—

Council to Justices.

(*Loseley*, Vol. V., n. 24.)

To call Recusants to give an account of their estates and to compound for their freedom from molestation.

> From the Privy Counsell to the Justices of the peace—to call Recusants before them to give account of their estates.
>
> " After or htie Com. The Q. M. upon report made unto her by us of her Highness's Privy Council of the ready and willing disposition of the principal Recusants of that C. in yielding to the charge lately laid on them for the providing and furnishing of certain light horses appointed to be leveyed for her highness's present service in the Low Countries, of her gracious and clement nature and affection towards her subjects being now pleased (according to the promise made by our former letters in her Maj's name, that some ease and alleviation as the necessity of men's estate should require for the penalties by the laws inflicted upon them for their disobedience should be granted in case they did willingly assent to the performing of the service required) to extend her favours in some reasonable degree towards them with regard nevertheless to the quality of their offence, as a matter of dangerous examples wherein her Maj. earnestly wisheth their reformation to the comfort of their souls and her due satisfaction. And as her Maj. for her part can be contented to ease them of the common danger of law, the daily vexation of informers and other

ordinary circumstances and inconveniences growing thereby unto them, so doth she expect that they on their part according to a just estimate of their living revenues, and in respect that the common weal requireth no special benefit or service of them, as of the rest of her Ma. subjects that being in obedience of her laws shall make offer of a reasonable portion thereof to be yearly paid, and delivered unto her Maj's receipt to be employed to such good uses as to her Maj. shall be thought convenient. These shall be therefore to signify, and authorise you to call several before you all recusants, as are named in the enclosed schedule, or any other not named dwelling in that said C. and to acquaint them with the contents of these our letters by virtue whereof you shall advise them to consider of this her Majs. gracious favour tended unto them, and require them to make offer, and set down every man according to his particular value, what yearly sum he can be contented of his own disposition to allow us aforesaid to be discharged of the peril and penalties of the law whereunto they may stand subject and liable by reason of the Recusancy. And when they shall upon this motion made by you unto them deliver unto you under their hands in writing several notes of such portion, as they can be content of their goodwill to contribute yearly whereby they may be exempted from the penalty inflicted by law, then shall you require the same notes and send them up unto us, to the end we may thereupon give you direction what shall be by her M. thought meet to be further done in that behalf, and to advertise us by your letters what you think upon their offers and how the same are to be increased in any reasonable sort.

"So we bid you heartily farewell from Grinwich the 25th of February 1585

"Your very loving friends
W. Burleigh
Walsingham
F. Knollys
W. Hutton
Howard
T. Buckeley"

In this letter we have the admission of her Majesty the Queen and of her Majesty's Privy Council that Catholics had proved their loyalty by the help which they had provided out of their resources "with ready and willing disposition for her Highness's present service in the Low Countries." Remember that this was done after they had been harassed and taxed for their religion above measure. Hence we see how much more grievous was the injustice done to Catholics in accusing them of being a danger to their country. In the letter I have just quoted Catholics are now trapped (for we can use no other word) into revealing the exact state of their fortune. As a reward for this they are offered the opportunity of compounding for their freedom from molestation. If they will pay some yearly sum commensurate with their income, the Government undertakes that they shall be eased " of the common danger of law, the daily vexation of informers and other ordinary circumstances and inconveniences growing thereby unto them." We are grateful to the Council for giving us so succinct and comprehensive a sentence which expresses exactly the nature of the daily vexation of informers and numberless circumstances and inconveniences which harassed Catholics on every side. They were a prey not only to the official raids of the Magistrates, but, as we have seen in a former chapters even to endless extortions on the part of blackmailers. But now they are told if they contribute proportionately to their means some yearly sum they need not come to the Church, they will be left unmolested by prying eyes, in a word they will be free.

Many were not unnaturally caught by the bait, hoping thereby for a bettering of their position. A note amongst the Loseley Manuscripts gives a list of some of the chief amongst the gentry in the County of Surrey who remained faithful to their religion and have seized this opportunity of compounding for a yearly sum. It is an eloquent document showing the value they set on their religion. First is a Robert Becket who out of an income of £40 will pay £10, then a Thomas More, who, out of an income of £20 will pay £5, or a John Lavender having 40 shillings a year, offers 20, or a John Bradstock out of £18 offers 20 shillings, John Southcote having £160 a year offers £40, Sir William Catesby has £500 a year and will pay £100, Edward Banister has £200 and will pay £30, Francis Browne out of £91 will pay £20. These are goodly sums to pay for one's freedom of conscience. Remember always that to calculate the value of these figures in modern coinage you must multiply each figure by at least twelve. Thus between eight families the yearly sums they have offered to contribute amount at least to £2,484. Attached to this document is another note, this one relates to Catholics who are not like the former running the daily risks of interruptions and molestations from neighbours and pursuivants but are safely and securely housed " in the several goals of the White Lion, the Marshalsea, the Bench and the Clink." They also are invited by " her Majesty's gracious favour " to give a true account of their living. We note, however, in these cases a change of accounts ; they do not offer to give anything or to compound for their freedom ; the reason is evident in each case. Let the first suffice as an illustration of the others. "Walter Blount of Kingston in the County of Stafford, Gent, declareth that he never had above £5 yearly, which is seized into her Majesty's hand in respect of his recusancy. And so saith he hath nothing to answer to her Majesty." We see in the list some that are gentlefolks who lived formerly comfortably on their own estate, some who earned their livelihood by means of teaching and others by business; they are all now completely stripped by their gracious sovereign. Did I say all have been stripped? Yes, all with one exception—Stephen Preston of Winchester, yeoman, who says he has "but five marks yearly to live on which if he might have his liberty he would be content to give unto her Majesty." (Appendix, pp. 403 and seq.)

It must not be imagined that the statements of recusants about their fortune were taken with easy credence by the Magistrates and we have many indications in fact, to the contrary. On the back of a list of recusants in the Marshalsea, King's Bench, White Lion and Clink, there is the following document :—

> "With remembrance of our duties unto your honourable Lordships it may please the same to receive hereinclosed a certificat of our proceedings with the recusants within this county according to the contents of your Lordship's letters. We understand not the state of their wealthes or livings for they have nothing within this County to our knowledge.
>
> Only Francis Brown and John Southcote Esquire best known unto us have as we think made a true declaration of the just value of their yearly Revenues. We were informed by Richard Ede, porter of the Marshalsea that Robert Becket, Thomas More and John Grey be of greater living and hability than they declared themselves to be. As many appear unto your Lordships by his declarations under his hand hereinclosed."

From this we see that Francis Browne and John Southcote were believed when they gave an account of their income and their statements had been amply tested by Sir William More. As an illustration of this we have in Sir William More's handwriting a certificate of armour found at Henley Park and of the estate of Mr. Francis Browne. I give the two documents as they occur :—

> *Sir W. More*
> *Certificates of Arms and Armour of Recusants.*
> *Armour etc. confiscted from* Francis Browne.
>
> "The certificate of such armour and weapons as were found in the houses of the Recusants within the County of Surrey, the

eighth of May last 1585, and taken in to our hands by virtue of letters from the Queen's Majesty's most honourable privy Counsel unto us directed and also of our other proceedings according to the contents of the said letters.

MORE.

" Francis Brown of Henley Park in the said County, Esquire had in his house there and at the armourers in Guildford these parcels hereafter following, being all in parcel broken and disordered, which are in the Custody of Sir William More Knight.

" First.

" Also the said Francis hath in lands pensions and annuities these parcels following which we had learned by his own confession and further we cannot understand."

The above is in Sr. W. More's hand-writing and indorsed : " Recusants, Sr. More and payment."

" *Mr. Francis Browne's certificate of his Estate. written by Sr. Wm. More and signed by Mr. Fr. Browne.*

	£	s.	d.
Francis Browne Esq. hath a manor in Dorsetshire which he bought after 20£ yearly, but now improved to 40£ yearly	40	0	0
Also a house in the close of St. Mary Overies in Southwark which he perchased at 5£ yearly but now hath let it to one Banete for a fee of one hundred pounds	5		
Also he hath an annuity for term of his life by the gift of his father	27	13	4
Also of her Majesty the pension for being an equery 20£	20		
Sum	£92	13	4

FRANCIS BROWNE

" *Indorsed :* ' The land that I have is a manor in Dorsetshire which is let for . . , . . .' "

(*Loseley*, Vol. V., n. 36.)

Francis Browne had been indicted as a recusant at Croydon on the 22nd March 1582 and his name occurs in the lists at Loseley five times. Twice he is named as having received two terms of eleven months' imprisonment. On another list he is mentioned as having been indicted twice for four months, his wife Joan suffering also with him. On two other lists his name occurs over the signature of Waade, who says, "if any of the persons above named be known to you to become reformable in religion by repairing to divine service agreeable with the laws of the realm, then it is not meant they should be disarmed." The date of these lists is April 27th, 1585. It was in the preceding month that Francis Browne had offered £20 yearly (or in modern figures £240) for his freedom.

In our lists we have also the name of Henry Browne of the parish of St. Saviour's Southwark, Esquire, and Joan his wife who were condemned to eleven months' imprisonment; they were charged at Croydon on the 20th March in the 24th year of Elizabeth, but in the same year, together with one Nicholas Walgrave "came in and did submit and conform themselves and did in full sessions recognise the same submission according to the statute that they would resort to the Church according to the true meaning of the statute." Again we read of an Elizabeth Browne, of Ewell, gentlewoman, wife of Cuthbert Browne, gentleman. She was indicted at Guildford in the 27th year of Elizabeth. She was again mentioned as a recusant in 1591 by Dr. Ridley in his certificate of recusants. Her daughter, Mrs. Ann Whore, and Mr. Allen Whorde and also Richard Wright, were mentioned in the same list as of Ewell for the quarter ending Lady Day, 1586.

The name of Goldwyer appears from time to time in our lists. We find it amongst the names of indicted at Reigate and recommitted at Kingston to prison for July 26th in the 24th year of Elizabeth; another list gives her under the following direction: "Jane Goldwyer, late of Whateley in the County of Oxford, widow, prisoner in the Clink for religion the 23rd July, 1582." She had been incarcerated ever since December 1580, for in another list of prisoners in the Clink for religion, dated the 12th March, 1581, we read the following "Jane Goldwyer, late Whalleye in the County of Oxford, widow, sent by commandement from the Reverend Father in God the 5th day of December A.D. 1585." A letter from her has been inserted amongst the Loseley papers with the following note:—"Document found in her Majesty's manuscript paper office. To the Secretary of State—Petition of Jane Goldwyer, to be released from the Clink on bail, a Catholic lady arrested for maintaining the doctrine of the Real Presence and oricular confession—1588." (Probably a mistake for 1580):—

"To the Right Honreable Sir Francis Walsingham Chefe Secretarie and One of her Magesties Prive Counsell.

"Humblye sheweth unto your honour your poor and dailie Oratrixe Jane Goldwyer, a poore afflicted creator, that hath layd prisoner in the Clink, this twellmonth for her conscience sake. Having five small children dryven to seek their harde adventure in this wicked age, by reason of the troubles of me their poor mother, who is and eaver will be a loveinge and dutyfull subjecte unto her Majestie, not committing any offence by instructing others Her Magesties subjects, but desyar to live according to my conscience, till souch tyme as I may please God conyer with such as may persuayde me that I stand in error In tender consideration whereof the premises considered may it please your honour to grant your warrant to release your poore oratrix, putting in sufficient Bayl trans er to what shall be objected against her, by ye honorable Lords of her Magesties Prive Counsell, within two months arwning, and then to yield her body to the Marshall, during hir Majesties pleasure and your supliante as especiallie bound, shall offer uppe to God her daily prayers, for the long and prosperous state of her Magesties estate, within these Realmes

"Your Honour's humble Oratrix

"JAYNE GOLDWYER."

Although this appeal was indorsed in Walsingham's hand-writing with the words "Jane Goldwyer to be released" it does not appear, when this release took place, as she certainly was in prison in July, 1582, and this document is dated "Queen Elizabeth, 1580." In the documents which follow we learn of the recusancy of a Mrs. Hornyall and a Mrs. Barbara Green. They have evidently proved themselves very obstinate Papists and the Vicar of Egham is certainly exercised about them :—

(*Loseley*, Vol. V., n. 21.)

"Egham : The Vicar (John Stanton) and others report that 1. Imprimis to the first Article we say that there is one Jane Hornyall alias Hornifall al Furnyfall, gentlewoman who sojourneth with Barbara Grene widow gentlewoman which refuseth to come to Devine Service to the psh church of Egham or elsewhere to our knowledge and hath continued so thease 4 years or thereabouts and refuseth to reform her self according to the Statute made in the last session of plmt and to the rest of that Article We have none suche.

2. Item to the 2 Art we say that we have neither wives children or servants above 15 years old other than is before expressed that refuse to come to Devine Service to our knowledge.
3. Item to the 3rd Art we say that the said Jane Hornyall als Hornefall als Furnifall is suspected to have been reconciled to papist religion.
4. Item to the 4 Art we say that we have none within our parish that be suspected to be massing priests, reconcilers, Jesuits, Seminaries or other persons which have received any orders or authority from the Romish church to use the like.
5. Item to the 5 Art we say we have no schoolmasters within our parish

" per me Johannem Standon de Egham Vicarium

signum Jacobi Colhouse

Signum E. Roger Cross—
Churchwardens."

We are struck with the 5th point of the Vicar's confession, that they have no schoolmasters within their parish; they have evidently succeeded in bringing about a most thorough reformation at Egham or Jane Hornyall appears to be a convert from Protestantism, as undoubtedly she had four years previously attended the services in the Protestant Church. In the following depositions we are told that the only reason why she is suspected of having been reconciled to the Catholic Church was that she neither came to Church nor received Communion. The first deposition is that of the Vicar, John Standon :—

8th July 1581.
Mrs. Hornyall.

(*Loseley*, Vol. V., n. 22.)

Egham :

" John Standen vicar of Egham in the C. of Surrey stateth that whereas he with others did psent unto Mr. Taylor deputy to the officiall of Surrey amongst other things that Jane Hornyall etc. late sojourning at the house of Barbara Grene Widow at Eg. hath refused to come to devine Service this III years or more and that she is suspd to have been rec. to the popish Rel. being now dpd. What moved him to suspect her to be so reconciled saith that he doth not know neither hath heard if she hath been so recond but saith that he hath suspected her to be recd because she hath neither come to the div. service nor received the Comm. this three years past at that Church in wch psh she hath sojourned all the time for the most part and other suspicion of her reconciliation he hath none.

"Per me Johem Standon."

Then follow the depositions of the churchwardens of Egham, and the High Constable of the hundred of Godley :—

"James Helhouse and Roger Crosse, Churchwardens of Egham aforesaid exd do say that the only cause why they did psent the said Jane to be recon. to popish religion is for that she hath not come to div. serv. this IIIys nor received the Comm. there to their knowledge and for no other Cause.

"Signum ✕ ded Jacobi ○ Signed did Rogeri,"

"Anthony Cowp high Constable of the hundred of Godley exd saith that by virtue of a warrant to him directed from the sd. Sir Willm. More knight George More and Laur. Stoughton esquires to bring her before them to be exd concerning her reconciliation repaired unto the house of the said Barbara Grene and there searching for her was certifyed by the said Barbara that she was departed into worcestershere about III weeks past.

"Wyllam More   Anthony Cowp   Lawrence Stoughton
G. More."

In consequence of this the following warrant was issued for her arrest :—

Mrs. Hornyall.
Warrant.

(*Loseley*, Vol. V., n. 24.)

"Sir Will. More knight, George More and Laurence Stoughton esquires Justices of the peace amongst of her majesty's the, Commers of Surrey assigned and Anthony Cowper high Constable of the hundred of Godley and to the petty Constable of the Egham and to either of them Greeting. These are in the queen's maj.'s name our most Gracious sovereign straightly to charge and command you to bring or cause to be brought before us at

> Guildford upon Saturday next being the VIIIth of the present month of July by ten of the clock in the forenoon of the same day Jane Hornyall als Hornyfall Gentlewoman now sojourning with Barbara Grene, gentlewoman, and widow inhabiting at Egham aforesaid then and there to answer to such matters as shall be objected against her in her mags behalf and that also you warn in her highness's name John Standen vicar of Egham James Helhouse and Roger Crosse to appear at the said hour day and place before us and before us. And hereof fail you not as you and any of you will answer to the contrary at your uttermost peril and be you there also with this our precept given under our hands and seals this 8th of July in the 23rd year of the Reign of our most gracious sovereign Lady Elizabeth by the grace of God of England France and Ireland Queen Defender of the Faith."

Thus we see that she received one month's imprisonment, whether she ever served that term we are unable to say as in a list we find her name mentioned and a note beside it saying :—" not in the Shire." This was one of the many instances of Catholics chivied from place to place by zealous Vicars and Churchwardens who are desirous of purifying their parish of the hated " Papists."

The name of Green is of frequent occurrence at Loseley. First we have a Mr. John Green, of whom we are told in a report of Richard Edde, the porter of the Marshalsea, that he was a great supporter of the Seminaries. Edde's letter is as follows :—

> " Mr. Humfrey Kempe a Cornish man hath informed one Richard Ede the porter of the Marshalsea that Mr. Robert Becket may spend £200 of good land by the year. And for Mr. More, his kinsman Wm. Goulder did report by occasion of speech that he and I had that his kinsman could not spend much above £100 by the year and I the aforesaid porter answered that he did offer to give XX£ a year to one that should get his liberty with the freedom of his conscience. They had rather give XX£ a year to the maintenance of Seminarie priests than one penny to her matie. And for Mr. John Green when he was in the Marshalsea was the only distributor of mony to the Seminaries. And now he is abroad he is thought to be the Collector for them—he was always thought to be the best moneyed man of the papists and when he shall be demanded what he will give to the Queen he will then be worth in the nothing. I am sure his man did bring him mony end the term out of Norfolk and it is to be feared that

the liberty and friendship that they have is the loss of an infinite thousand of souls. I beceech God even in the bowels of christ that it may be better looked unto.

"By me
"RICHARDE EDDE."

No date.

"5th March, 1585 ?"

(*Loseley*, Vol. V., n. 27.)

Mr. John Green suffered a great deal for his faith, he was certainly, for a time, in the Clink, as we have seen in the foregoing letter, also in the Marshalsea. He was mentioned by Waade in his list of gentry whose houses were to be searched for arms.

William Green, a schoolmaster of Southwark, was indicted at Reigate and committed at Kingston on the 26th July, 1582, he was sent to prison in the Marshalsea. In one of the lists he is down as "late of Harkesteads, County of Safk." Probably this is the same William Green "gent of Tonstins in Staffordshire schoolmaster in King's Bench, 7th March 1585." We have another note, a William Green, of Tonstins in Staffordshire, schoolmaster, indicted and in the Marshalsea. The probability is that he has been in prison for over three years first in the Marshalsea and then in the King's Bench.

Then there is a Theobald Green variously described as yeoman and gent, mentioned by Waade on the 27th April 1585, with the object of finding out whether he be conformable, and if so the armour which he possesses is not to be confiscated. Elsewhere he is said to be late of Grey's Inn in the County of Middlesex, and now, *viz.*, on the 27th July, 1582, imprisoned in Marshalsea. In another list written in More's handwriting, he is "dead in the Marshalsea in August was twelvemonth." And finally another list of More's again the word "dead."

Mrs. Katherine Green has also honourable mention in our lists. She is of Newbry in the County of Yorkshire, the wife of John Green. She suffered probably at the same time as her husband. His dates are not given in the lists. But she was in the Clink on the 7th March, 1585. . William Green of East Moseley, Gent., and his wife were also recusants convicted, but we have no dates. Finally we have the names of Mr. Green, the younger, Kent, and Mr. Green, of Kent, on a list of 109 Catholics, signed by Waade, and dated the 27th April, 1525. And Mr. Rook Green, of Lamford, but no further information about these last three. On Waade's list of those to be disarmed we find the name of Philips. This gentleman was indicted at Reigate and convicted at Kingston on the 26th July, 1582, and we see that he was in the Marshalsea on the 27th July of the same year. He was from Key in the county of Cornwall. While in prison at the White Lion, in March of that same year, he paid the price of one corslett. The following is the letter which relates the circumstances:—

> "To the right worshipful Sir W. Moore knight and the rest of the Justices of Peace assembled at the assise at Croydon.
>
> "May it please you to be advertised that I have received towards the providing of the XL Corseletts, XXXVIII£ Xs., and one Mr. Bowdner an inholder in Southwark informeth me that he hath in readiness for three corseletts *viz.* II for Guildford and one for Farnham. So that do lack for IIII or corsletts. The towns uncrossed in my book are these, Leatherhead, Nutfield, Crawley, Shalford, Bramley and Chobham. Whereof one William Phillipps dwelling at the White Lyon in Southwark paid me money for one Corselett, but he could not tell me for what Town. So I am not answered for IIII or of these five townships last recited which hath been the stay why I have not taken the Corseletts out of the Tower, and now I can no longer stay my ride (?) into Kent where I must of force stay till after Easter, as Easter falloweth, this year. Therefore the next term, if the rest of the money be provided, they may be had against a certain day when the high Constable may be appointed to come to receive them. One Mr. Hutton dwelling in Southwark being a skilful armourer hath promised me to help to choose them, and it is good to allow him IId of every Corselett to be paid by them that shall come to receive them. Mr. Painter that was the clark of the Armory, telleth me the corseletts that were appointed for the Counties be very good. Thus beseeching to remember how the armourer and gun maker may be paid for the keeping of our other furniture, I so commend you to the Almighty God. From London this IIIIth day of March 1582.
>
> "Your assured,
>
> "ROBERT LYVESEY."
>
> "I am contrary to my determination stayed in London with an extreme cold I have taken."
>
> (*Loseley, Bundle Letters*, 1581 to 1600.)

He had evidently been convicted as a Catholic before. He is again mentioned by George Goring in a letter to More the following year, he is still a prisoner and he has been examined by Mr. Selwyn and Mr. Goring; "but he utterly refused to say anything, saying that he had confessed already to Mr. Shelley all that he could or would say, but now he being condemned doth require to appeal."

> " After hearty com. unto you These shall be to advertise you that I and Mr. Selwyn had Phillips the prisoner here before us to examine but he utterly refused to say any thing saying that he had confessed already to Mr. Shellye all that he could or would say, but now he being condemned doth require to appeal. And he being stayed from execution as the Judges can tell you I and some other Justice will take time to examine him at large. And what we find to touch you contrary you shall be made privie of. And thus I leave you with God. Written at Eastgrinstead the XVth of July, 1583.
>
> " Your friend to use,
>
> " George Goring.
>
> " To the Right Worshipful Sir Wm. Moore, Knight."

(*Loseley, Bundle Letters*, 1581 to 1600.)

What was the subject matter of this examination and how they sought to extract information from him, we may gather from what shall be told in the case of many another Catholic in the course of this book. Also what was the nature of his condemnation, we cannot say for certain, but in two succeeding lists Sir William Moore writes against his name in one list " dead." In the other list " dead in the Marshalsea two years past." These lists reveal great mysteries, but hide much more than they tell. It is curious how many names we have that are mentioned but once or twice. Of course we must not imagine that they are exhaustive lists. If Sir William More had kept all the records of indictments and convictions and also the lists of prisoners in those jails which came under his jurisdiction, it is quite certain that the volume of literature thus accumulated would have been enormous. We are favoured, therefore, with only a fraction of the records of those penal times. These lists cover a period of barely nine to ten years. During that time the persecution was carried on relentlessly with the greatest cruelty and barbarity. When, therefore, we come across names just mentioned once or twice, we must not for one moment imagine that their bearers suffered only just as much as the list itself informs us. On the contrary, unless in the case of those few who are said to have conformed we may be quite certain that they have been imprisoned and fined mercilessly. As an instance of what I say take the name of George Cotton ; it appears only once in our lists. We are not told whether he was imprisoned or fined ; the only information we are given is that he is a recusant " of Warblington, County of Southampton, Esquire." His wife is also said to be a recusant. Now, if we look up the rolls in the Record Office which come under the name of Recusant Rolls we find the name of Mr. George Cotton, of Warblington, and by tracing it through the years dating from 1587 to 1607 we see that he paid regularly £260 each year for his recusancy, or in twenty years £5,200 in the money of the XVIth century, which now must be calculated at more than £60,000. Cardinal Gasquet tells us that in the Rolls Receipt Books he found the actual Government receipts for the payment. The reader will remember the letter of the Council which I gave, in which Catholics are informed that by the payment to her Majesty of some yearly sum they might obtain an easement from the harrassing of pursuers, and from daily " circumstances and annoyances." Relying on this undertaking Mr. Cotton offered to pay " besides the great sums which I have paid for the statute of recusancy " an additional sum of £30 a year, which his son Richard, with his authority,changed to £40. What benefit accrued to him from his extra generosity and relying on the Queen's Majesty's word was not only the total loss of his fortune, but when he was unable to pay more, death in a loathsome dungeon. His end is recorded in a letter which is one of the annual letters written at that period at the English College in Rome. The letter is dated 1614.

> " George Cotton was despoiled of all his goods and consigned to dungeon to the end of his days, which was hastened by hardships, filth, misery and a chronic malady. The Ministers, as if he were unworthy of Christian burial, would not allow his corpse to be buried in their churchyards, hence his remains are deposited in on open field."
>
> (Jes. Rec. Vol. VII., p. 1040.)

Thus we are left to imagine what further happened to the many other Recusants named at Loseley, such, for instance, as Lady Mary Vauze, of the parish of St. Saviour's in Southwark, of whom we are told she was given eleven months, and that she had two other indictments for four months. Or a George Bruster, who was committed to prison in the 24th year of Elizabeth, who received two terms of eleven months, and of whom we are suddenly told that he was delivered and is dead. Or an Elizabeth Turner, of Southwark, also indicted in the 24th year of Elizabeth, and received two terms of eleven months, and two of four. Or a Margaret Perkins, spinster, and Mary Perkins, spinster, the first receiving two terms of eleven months, and two of four ; the second, two terms of four months. Or Anne Stewart, spinster, likewise committed to jail twice for eleven months and twice for four months. Or Mary Courtneys, spinster, with the same terms of imprisonment standing against her.

All that we know further about these names is that they are not reported to have conformed. In like manner we see the name of Dr. Fryer, convicted as a recusant in 1585 ; he is classed with "certaine of his servauntes whose names they cold not learne." The following letter tells us that Dr. Fryer compounded for a yearly sum ; he is, therefore, like all the rest, likely to have been despoiled of all he possessed.

"*Dr. Fryer has compounded 7th May* 1586.

"Where Thomas Fryer Doctor of phisicke dwellinge wthin the Cytye of London ys required by yor lre of the Vth of this instaunte to be before youre at Dorkinge on thursedaye nowe next cominge astouching his not coming to Churche. It maye please youe to be advertised that the sayd Mr. Fryer hath ben allreddye called before the M. of the Rolls and Sir Gwyn Hopton knyght lieutennte of the Power Commissioners appoynted for the same cause within the cyttie of London and the Countye of Mitt before whom he hath compounded and greed to paye unto her Matie a certein yearely some of money delyvered unto the Lordes of her maties pryvie counsell dothe appeare ? by the comaundment of the mr of the Rolls I am willed to signifie unto yor mastershyps at London the XVIIth of Maye 1586.

"Yor Wrshippes humbly to comand
"HENRY CLERKE the Clarke of the peace
in the County of Mitt."

(*Loseley*, Vol. V., n. 34.)

The name of Tichbourne recurs several times. Dr. Tichbourne is mentioned once as a recusant. He was a receiver of Jesuits and Seminarists according to Lord Huntingdon's report in February, 1583. There was also a Benjamin Tichbourne "gent and his wife." We learn from another source that this Benjamin was a Knight and Sheriff of the Co. of Southampton in the twenty-first year of Elizabeth, and again in the last year of her reign. He was a friend of Thomas Pounde, of whom we shall hear later. Then there is a Mistress Arnold, kinswoman to Benjamin ; and Nicholas, gent and his wife : this Nicholas Tichbourne was hanged at Tyburn on

August 24th, 1601. Peter Tichbourne, of Porchester, in the County of Southampton, was sent to prison at the Kingston Sessions on July 26th, in the twenty-fourth year of Elizabeth. His name again occurs in a list of prisoners in the White Lion for the 23rd July, 1582, and among the State Papers (Dom. Eliz., 1581, No. 240A) he is named in " Catalogue of Papists, imprisoned in 1579."

It is very remarkable that in nearly all the correspondence of which we know of that time, the letters of Catholics to Justices and their sayings in Court are always couched in the most respectful language. They are exactly as we would like the Confessors of the Faith to speak, evincing profound respect for authority while at the same time proving their courage in the confession of their faith. It is evident that, notwithstanding the perfidious dealings of the Protestants in their regard, they bear no malice and they exhibit no bitterness in their dealings with them. The following letter from Thomas Tryan is an instance of this courtesy and Christian feeling.

> " THOMAS TRYAN *to Magistrates excusing himself for not waiting on them.*
>
> " *has compounded* 18*th May* 1586.
>
> " Right Worshipful, Whereas by virtue of the letters of the 5th of this month, delivered unto me the 16th which was Monday last, I should have come to your Worships this present Thursday to Dorking, there are most humbly to crave your lawful favour for my coacted absence through the extreme soreness of my eyes, which Sir Thomas Browne can partly testify I am in truth not able to look upon the light and much less to ride in the dust, which should so far impair them as I should hardly after be able to recover them, although I have done my uttermost endeavour to enable myself for the journey. And farther concerning the cause of my coming, it may please you to be advertised that I have been already called before the Master of the Rolls and Sir Owen Hopton, Knights, her Majesty's Commissioners also in that behalf and have compounded with them, I trust not to their disliking, as the Clerk of the peace, who was at that time their secretary, by commandment of the Master of the Rolls, hath certified, which certificate I have delivered to the Right Wor. Sir J. Browne. Yet not withstanding that composition and that I am not resident in the County neither, nor have not lyen past 5 times in my house at Stretham, I would most willingly according to my duty have waited on Your Worships, had not my infirmity otherwise constrained me of the which only desiring your worships

to have lawful and favourable consideration, offering myself in all that I may at your devotion, I do most humbly take my leave, the 18th day of this month of May 1586.

"Your Worship's humbly
to Command
"THOMAS TRYAN.

"To the Right Worshipful Sir William More, Sir Thomas Browne Knights, Master George More, Master Robert Levesye, Mr. Edward Bellingham Esquires."

(*Loseley*, Vol. V., n. 31.)

Here is another instance of a gentleman who gladly will give all he possesseth for the pearl of great price.

Looking at our lists we find the name of Southcote, which appears frequently, and we have also a letter from Mr. Wooley to Sir William More referring to him. It is as follows:—

J. WOOLEY *to Sir Will. More.*
SOUTHCOTE, *the Recusant, to be passed over uncertified.*
27th April 1586.

"Sir, I moved my L. Admiral, as you required me, touching his pleasure of your certifying of Southcotte being indeed a Recusant, but as yet not indicted, showing your readiness to accomplish his L.'s pleasure, that you might be truly informed what it was his Lordship answered was (after some debate and speach of the matter) that you would not deal either wise in the matter because he did not well remember what order the Council had taken in all these matters. I urged him to signify his mind whether he would like not to have him certified. He told me he would not intermeddle in the case. So as you see what you have to do notwithstanding for my own opinion, if Southcote be not indicted and that you may well do it following the instructions from the Council, I would wish for Mr. Howard's sake you would pass him over uncertified. And so I commit you to Almighty God. From the Court, the 27th of April, 1586.

"Your ever most assured
"J. WOOLEY.

"To the Right Worshipful Sir William More, Knight."

(*Loseley*, Vol. V., n. 35.)

It is evident from this that it was thought inexpedient to commit Southcote to gaol, and I do not know whether he was ever actually convicted, but in one of our lists he was indicted, together with the wife of John Southcote the younger. And in another list we have him down as of Merstham in the Co. of Surrey, Esquire; and as we have already noted of him "he declareth that he hath £160 yearly only to live on, whereof he is contented to pay unto her Majesty's receipt yearly £40." This was Justice Southcote, mentioned to Walsingham as one of the principal receivers of priests about London (Rec. Jes., Vol. III., p. 439). He publicly resigned his office rather than pronounce sentence against a priest, having vainly endeavoured to induce the Jury to acquit him (Rec. Jes., Vol. V., p. 963).

Henry Shelley, gent., and his wife of Mapledurham in the Co. of Southampton, were convicted for their recusancy on the 23rd July, 1582, and sent to the White Lion. His name also occurs several times till at last we have him down as "Harry Shelley of Southwark, gent., dead." There is a further Edward Shelley, of Worminghurst in the Co. of Sussex, gent., sent to the Clink by the Bishop of London on the 5th July, 1581. He was "delivered out of the Clink about a year and a half past by order from the Council," and sent to the Counter in Wood Street. He suffered death for the Catholic faith together with the Rev. Father Richard Leigh and five others at Tyburn, August 30th, 1588 (Rec. Jes., Vol. V., p. 788).

Finally, Richard Shelley, of Southwark, was sent to the Marshalsea in August, 1580 (Rec. Jes., Vol., VI., p. 727). In a Loseley list we have the name of Richard Shelley as of Wormehurst in the Co. of Sussex, being in the Marshalsea 27th July 1582. Then his name is mentioned once more in More's list with the following entry: "Richard Shelley, gent., dead, being in prison within the Marshalsea for about a month past."

Another gentleman who suffered according to our notes was Edward Banester, gent., and his wife. He had undertaken to pay out of his income of £200 a yearly sum of £30. However, he and his wife, Joan, were convicted and outlawed and sent to prison on the 27th March in the 27th year of Elizabeth. Topcliffe certified, in 1584, that these two were found in Southampton House, and that they came from Hampshire to that house two years before (Rec. Jes., Vol. VI., p. 716).

Stephen White is mentioned in our lists only on account of his wife, who is convicted as a recusant of Southborough in the Co. of Southampton. According to a narrative of Anthony Tyrrell and a catalogue of Confessors of the Faith (Rec. Jes., Vol. VI., pp. 271 and 810), she was condemned to death in 1586 as a receiver of priests. Thomas White, of St. Michael's in the Soke, Co. of Southampton, near Winchester, was also a convicted recusant, and John White, of Hursley in the Co. of Southampton, yeoman, was imprisoned in the Clink, and having been asked whether he would like to compound for his freedom "saith he hath nothing to live on."

John Talbot, of Mitcham, imprisoned in 1585. His name comes in the list of 109 Catholics. The name itself recalls an interesting and tragic story of a certain Mr. John Talbot whom Bishop Matthews had thrown into prison together with a Father Thomas Parson and Mr. John Norton of Ravensworth, for their religion. I tell the story in the words of Bishop Challoner, in his "Memoirs of Missionary Priests."

> "The Rev. Cuthbert Trollop, in a manuscript relation which I have in my hands, writes thus—that Mr. Pallicer and his companion being in prison were like to be poisoned by the malice of the gaoler's wife; for an impoisoned broth was prepared for them, and first brought to Mr. Pallicer who offering to taste of it, the bone of mutton on the dish began to run blood in form of crosses and of O's in the broth, which he wondering at, abstained from eating of it. The maid who brought in the broth noting this carried it back to her mistress; she casting some spice over it, sent the broth again by the same maid to Mr. Talbot and Mr. Norton, which they offering to taste, the blood in like sort issued forth of the meat as before, which caused them likewise to abstain. The servant seeing this again, was touched in conscience, and came upon her knees to Mr. Pallicer, and asked him forgiveness, and desired for Jesus Christ's sake that he would make her one of his faith, and instruct her what she had to do to be saved, which he did, resolving her in all points, and reconciling her to the Catholic Church. The aforesaid maid, whose name was Mary Day, at that time servant to the gaoler, afterwards served a catholic gentlewoman called Eleanor Forcer, who informed me of this."

The priest of this narrative with Mr. John Norton and Mr. John Talbot were hung, drawn, and quartered for their religion at Durham, August, 9th, 1600. This story is a mere item in the multitude of unofficial persecutions to which Catholics were subjected in those days.

Before closing this chapter there are two names which I would like to mention. The first is that of Redall, and the second is that of Lumleigh. There is some correspondence at Loseley about these two, dating 1691. The hunting down of recusants was not relaxed as time progressed; on the contrary, it became intensified and ever-increasing vigilence was exercised for their final uprooting. We have seen in an earlier portion of this narrative how, when the search and persecution became too great in one parish, Catholics fled to the seclusion of towns and villages where for a time they were lost in their incognito. But it appears that the hue and cry was soon made to track them down. Redall and his wife were of those many poor hunted hares, who thought they would be left in peace in new and unknown lairs. They, with their two unmarried kinswomen, Elizabeth and Jane Redall, fled from Guildford and sought refuge in the little country parish of Send. But Parson Thomas Key, of St. Nicholas, and Minister Peter German of the Trinity, Guildford, were sleuth hounds for the chase and they scented their quarry home.

"*Redall and his wife are Recusants. 8th Jan.*, 1591.

"8. die Januarii, 1591.

"We of the Town of Guildford and of the parish of St. Nicholas in Guildford whose names are subscribed do present that one Redall als Ridall and his wife who did of late inhabit within the Manor House in Guildford Park within the said parish of St. Nicholas and still have recourse thither are Recusants and are now as it is said, for the most part remaining at Send in the same County, And we further present that there are no Jesuits Seminaries nor other recusants within our charge to our knowledge,

"THOMAS KEY, Parson of S. Nicholas in Guildford.
PETER GERMAN, Minister of the Trinity in Guildford.
GEORGE AUSTEN.
JOS. FARSLEY."

(*Loseley*, Vol. V., n. 44.)

Like a bolt from the blue came the summons from the Magistrates.

"To the high Constable of the Hundred of Woking and to either of them.

More, etc., to Constables of Woking.

Summons for Redall. 12th Jan., 1591.

"Whereas we are informed that Redall als Ridall and his wife who did of late inhabit within the manor house in Guildford Park but now for the most part remain at Send in the Hundred aforesaid, wilfully do refuse to come unto the Church contrary to her Maj's laws in that case provided. These are by virtue for Her M's Commn to us and others directed to charge and command you to warn the said persons personally to appear before us at Guildford on Saturday the 15th of this present January by nine of the clock in the forenoon then and there to answer to such matters as on the behalf of her Maj shall be objected and demanded of them. And hereof fail you not at your peril, and you to be with us with this our precept on the said Saturday appointed for their appearance.

"Given under our hands the 12th of January, 1591.

"WYLLAM MORE.
GEORGE MORE.
LAWRENCE STOUGHTON.
JOHN AGMONDESHAM."

Loseley, Vol. V., n. 46.

This was in January, as we see. Redall and his wife were wavering but still they did not come to the Church, and in the following March another summons was issued against them and they were ordered to appear on Thursday, March 9th, at 9 a.m., 1591, before the Justices and there to answer questions concerning their recusancy. Still it would appear that they failed to conform to the order of the Court and so they received summonses quarterly with of course the usual fines, until at last in April, the next year, the members of the parish of Send had the joy to announce that on the 1st April, 1592, William Redall did come to divine service to the parish church of Send aforesaid and the 29th day of March last past with the other inhabitants of the same parish and did there stay during the whole time of service. This was in 1592. They came to Church twice in two months, whether they ever came again we are not told ; it is not improbable that the year 1593 saw them in another parish.

Now the other name which I wish to mention is that of Lumleigh of Shalford. Who was Mr. Richard Lumleigh of Wyntershull ? I do not know. He was evidently a Catholic and strong opposition was expected to be given to any intruders, official or otherwise. However the fighting curate of Bramley, Mr. Mawdesley, reinforced by Robert Bab and Richard Callingham and any other "honest neighbours" that might be thought needful, were to accompany the High Constable of the hundred of Blackheath and others of them to this dangerous lair of Papistry. We would like to have the story of the battle, which perhaps might be worthy of the pen of Walter Scott. However, I confess to a disappointment when having searched in vain through the records of Loseley and the Indexes of the Public Record Office, I was forced to the conclusion that no vestige is left us of that terrible affair. All that we have to guide the imagination is the following order from the Council :—

> *More and others to High Constable of Blackheath to serve a summons on Rich. Lumleigh of Shalford and to search for suspect persons and Catholic books, agnus Deis, relics. 12th Jan.*, 1591.
>
> " To the High Constable of the Hundred of Blackheath and to others of them.
>
> " Whereas we are informed that Richard Lumleigh of Wyntershall in the parish of Shalford gent doth refuse to come to the church contrary to her Maj. laws in that case provided. These are by virtue of her Maj's Comm. to us and others directed to charge and command him to warn him the said Lumleigh personally to appear before us at Guildford on Saturday the 15th of this present January by nine of the clock in the forenoon, then and there to answer such matters as on the behalf of her Maj. shall be objected or demanded of him. And also to make a diligent search within his house and other suspect places for all such persons as are suspected or unknown unto you, and further also for popish books, agnus dei, bulls, or other popish instruments or reliques, and such persons suspected or unknown with the said books etc safely to bring before some one of us, immediately after you shall have found any such. And for the better execution of this her Maj's service, you shall take with you for your assistance, Mr. Mawdesley, Curate of Bramley, Robert Babb, Richard Calingham and such other your honest neighbours as you shall think good. And hereof fail you not at your peril. Given under our hands the 12th day of January, 1591.
>
> " WYLLIAM MORE.
> GEORGE MORE.
> LAWRENCE STOUGHTON.
> AGMONDESHAM."
>
> *Loseley*, Vol. V., n. 45.

It is quite likely, however, that if strong resistance was expected at Wyntershull, the attacking party found an empty castle.

Chapter II

THE VINEYARD OF NABOTH

It must not be imagined that things proceeded very smoothly in every case for the Commissioners. A letter dated 1580 from Nicholas Saunder, reminds us of some difficulty which arose on account of the interference of an over-zealous Vicar and the pursuivants. This Nicholas Saunder was a recusant of the fighting type, a man who, when before the lawful authorities, was ready to speak with the greatest courtesy and respect, and at the same time considered he was entitled to defend himself against intrusion. He was summoned before the Council in September of 1579. He satisfied the magistrates so well that they dismissed him in favourable terms. He then made an offer to the Government for an additional supply of horses and this of course was accepted. Further he was ready to pay like so many other good Catholics for a standing exemption by the Council from attendance at Church; and the last note to the letter evidently refers to this.

Bundle of Letters, 1581 *to* 1600. *Loseley.*

> " Right worshipful, When I returned from London to my house upon Friday night last before , it was then told me that in mine absence you had caused the constable to signify mine appearance to be made before you at Kingston; at such time (as in truth) I did then persue a very earnest cause of importance before her Majesty's honourable Councell. And as I have taken such knowledge by some of my friends, the substance of the matters for which you called me (as their gist) do consist effectually in two points: ecclesiastical and temporal.
>
> " Touching the first (it may please you to be remembered that before Michaelmas last past, I was convented before her highness's most honourable Council aforesaid (being then sent unto them by yourselves). From whom I was then also dismissed in favourable terms; as I suppose you have heard the same. Since which time my behaviour therein hath been such as I can and will be ready to yield you the reasonable account thereof at any time hereafter by you there for to be appointed. That

for your better information, hath nevertheless (for the mean space) sent unto you such testimony as I have here at London.

" Concerning the latter (which I do understand to be a new supply or increase required for more serviceable horses to be furnished out of the shire) it hath been told me that in the beginning of the next term, you (the commissioners for that service) have agreed to meet at London, there to determine upon the same.

" Before whom (God willing) I will not fail then to attend, and make good that which shall be adjudged mete and and agreable to mine hability. And for the present, having urgent cause in Kent, to accomplish mine office after the death of my mother-in-law for certain lands holden of her Majesty in capite, I beseech you to accept these for my sufficient excuse at this instant, till the time of your appointed assembly in London there more certainly to order the premisses.

" From whence I do commit you both unto God.

" My sister Lussher desired me to inform you that she was double charged for the last Subsedys and so paid in Norfolk and Surrey and likewise hath been there taken contributors to the taxes incident to that county as a dweller there and not here. Where you shall difficulty find her at any calling. And therefore prayeth you, Sir William More (as her good neighbour in whom she reposeth her most trust) to tender the widow's cause without her more trouble herein. Which favour she hopeth to acquit with her devotion unto God, unto Whom also she commend you. The third of Jan. 1580.

" Your poor countryman and wellwisher,
" NICHOLAS SAUNDER.

" To the Right Worshipful
Sir William Moore and
Sir Thomas Browne knights, her Mats
Commissioners at Shire give these."

(*Loseley, Bundle Letters*, 1581 to 1600.)

On the fly-leaf of this letter are notes in different handwritings. They refer not only to Nicholas Saunder, but also to a few others amongst the recusants. The notes come as follows :—

" Since which time we understand supplication exhibited to the Council as he informeth us subscribed by divers men's hands of good credit that he from time to time hath and doth frequent divers churches and there hath heard divine service.

> "Being informed of Walsingham Saunders of Reigate that he doth not come to the church and conform himself in matters of religion according to her maj's proceedings we wrote our letters unto others and him, whereof we were advertised that he had notice and never the less came not according to the contents of the said letters.
>
> "Allen Horde being presented unto us for not coming to the church came unto us of himself at Kingston then there being in other services of her majesty Whereupon we examined him touching his not coming to the Church who answered was that he was household servant to the Lord Lumley where he said ordinary service was used from whence we then departing without taking his answer in writing, we thought good ever since to call him before us by our letters, but he then was gone into Buckingham shire about business of his own as we now advertised.
>
> "Memorandum that Edward Orwell register of the Court of Arches certified us under his hand that Ric. Whit and his wife, and Mr. Phillpot and his wife being at his house at Morclack at Easter last received not there the Communion.
>
> "Also we were informed that one Mr. Whitneyes wife of Mitcham doth absent herself from her parish church. For all which said five persons last above mentioned we made our warrants to appear before us the 5th of this present.
>
> "But they came not before us, but whether they were warned not we yet know not; so that we cannot certify what they can or will say in their defense."

The following two notes are in Sir William More's handwriting:—

> "For their usage amongst their neighbours and not for their coming to the church or conforming their selves in matters of religion.
>
> "His lands by his wife 40£ and his fee in the Queen Maj's house 46£ 13s. 4d. but in goods, no more than will discharge his debts, he nor his wife hath come to the parish church these 6 years past from whence they absent themselves for conscience sake but will yield no other reason thereof. His family as he saith do come to the church."

Now, as I have said, the Vicar of Epsom considered it his duty in accordance with the law to take notice of Mr. Saunder and to report his failure to attend the protestant service, but he evidently had a peppery recusant to deal with, as we may see from the letter written in April, 1580, to Sir William More.

Robert Cole, VICAR *of Epsom.*

Complains of having been molested by Mr. Nicholas Saunders.

"To the Right Worshipful
Sir William Moore Knight
High Sherre of Sussex and
Surrey Deliver chfo'

"In most humble wise Right worshippfull syr, my duety remembred most humblye praysinge god and gevinge your worshipe thanks for your favourable ayde and furderaunce in the easinge and realeasinge of my molestations by Mr. Nicholas Saunders and other ungodlye people through his procurment uncharitablye practised agaynest me in causinge me and my wife to be indighted for barators, and troublesome people, to my greate disfamigne and cost to travis the same, for as knoweth God I woulde very gladly live in peace with all people, for I pray to god I have dwelt amorte this XXth yeare in the parishe of Ebsame, and neither man nor woman cann justlye saye that I at any time caulled or reviled sithens I came to that parishe any man or woman. Sir-reverence of your worshippe no not such like wordes as to saye knave or drabor neither have I smitten any maner of person, exceptinge children the whiche I have taught in learninge and those of my owne houshould, but have bin glad alwaiese to make peace and agreement betwene any of my neighbours which have bin at any discorde. But because I willed the church wardens according to the articles geven them from the ordinary to present Mr. Nicholas Saunders for not reacevinge the holye communion, and that he was upon that presentment sited to appeare before Mr. Doctor Lewen, and becase he did not appeare at the court daye he stode excomunicate, wherfore the saide Mr. Saunders procured great molestations agaynest me by all meanes he coulde devise to my great impoverishinge and undoinge, and yet is like to continue yfe God stire not up suche good men as you worshipe is to mitigate his ire and suppress his malice, tho whither I pray god graunt the same to be finished.

"Furdemor Rightworshippefull Sir, I trust you shall finde my wife to be of honest behavioure and that I am welcoteted that she shalbe at your worshippes appoyntinge and placing as to your worshippe shall seme most convenient bothe for he and my honesty. And thus comightinge your worshippe wth yours to the tuition of allmightie god, from Esbam this IIIIth of aprill 1580.

"Your obedient in Christ

"ROBERT COLE vicar of Ebsam."

(*Loseley*, *V*ol. V., n. 16.)

Mr. Nicholas Saunder, from this letter we conclude, brought a counter-charge against the Vicar of Epsom, that of being a barrator and a troublesome person, in other words of malicious prosecution. We can quite understand that the times being what they were, there was not the faintest chance of such a counter-charge being successful. What eventually happened to Mr. Nicholas Saunder, I cannot say. But the affair gives us some insight into the more human element of those troublesome days. Catholics did sometimes defend themselves, as we see indeed in the case of another recusant whose name is mentioned at Loseley, Mr. Henry Pounde, a gentleman of Farlington in the county of Southampton. He was the nephew of the famous Mr. Thomas Pounde who treated him as a son. We are told that he was a man of very great valour. Once while travelling from his home at Farlington to London, a Government spy named Bomes, who had been a student at Douai, stopped him. The spy was accompanied by pursuivants, and they announced to Mr. Henry Pounde that he should be arrested as a priest and traitor. Mr. Pounde thereupon demanded to see their summons, which of course they were unable to show. Forthwith he drew his sword and told them that he would defend himself. They attacked him and many apprentices hard by striving to surround him also attacked him with halberts; but he defended himself with such dexterity, lunging and parrying with such lightning rapidity that many of his assailants were wounded and one of the pursuivants was actually mortally struck. At last, however, overcome by force of numbers, he himself was wounded and disarmed. He was then captured and brought before the Chief Justice, where he objected very strongly to this wrongful arrest as he was no priest. However, as a Papist and a traveller, he was sent to Newgate. This happened on the 21st April, 1602. Can we be surprised that Catholics were sometimes exasperated beyond measure at their treatment. We have seen how Elizabeth had promised them freedom from molestation, in return for what proved to be exorbitant exactions on their fortunes. They gave with joy what they were able to give, only to find that they had been basely and cruelly tricked; there was no freedom from molestation, and I fancy that many a good man in these days would be ready to do as Pounde did.

However, not only did the Commissioners find serious difficulties from time to time in the exercise of their evil duties, owing to the opposition of a fighting element in the British Catholic; but even in their own camp there were frequently dissensions.

The unification of religion was, as we have seen several times before, a mere external fetter, and, in fact, every man thought as he chose; but he was not allowed to say what he thought. Hence we have cases of dissent or sometimes too much freedom of speech even amongst the clergy. There was a man at Merrow of the name of Clipsain, who had dared to say things within the hearing of a certain woman, and these earned for him the title of a heretic. It was in the year 1591, and Martin Clipsain, the Curate of Merrow, had run away. Why? These letters will tell you.

Martin Clipsain (*curate of Merrow*) *ex-priest.*

> " After our hearty coms. it may please you to understand that there was information given unto us at the last quarter sessions holden at Guildford by Mr. Taylor the official deputy of this County of Surrey against one Martin Clipsain Clark late curat of Merrow. We in the said County upon a presentment to him made by the church-wardens of Merrow upon their oath whereupon we sent for those persons that could inform against him and also a warrant for his apprehension. The examinations of which persons may appear in a paper hereinclosed. But the said Clipsain finding himself guilty is fled upon it and now remaineth in Southwark where his wife dwelleth very near the Kayge there; he hath been an old Mass priest as we are informed and therefore the more like to use the said words of a lewd mind. One Marbery, parson of Merrow aforesaid, now remaining prisoner in the King's Bench, under whom he hath lived can inform you where he is to be had. Of all which we thought good to give you advertisement to the end it may please you to cause him to be apprehended, and to be examined according to your discretion. And thus we commit you unto God his tuition. From Guildford this VIIIth of July 1581.
>
> " Your very loving and assured friends,
>
> " William More.
> George More.
> Lawrence Stoughton."

(*Loseley, Bundle Letters,* 1581 to 1600.)

Adjoined to the above are the following :—

"VIII° die Julii 1581
coram Wilimo More
majtr. Georgio More
Lawr. Stoughton, Ar.

Thomas Brystow of Merrow, husbandman examined saith that in the beginning of Lent last Martin Clipsain then curate of Merrow said to this exat that he hoped to see the world change very shortly which words proceeded upon occasion of speech had between this examinat and him concerning the advowson of a benefice at Abinger which one Gryffethe of Middlesex hath, to whom this examinat saying he would give 40£ for the same the said Clipsain answered he would not give him forty points for the same for that he said the Law would change very shortly and then his advowson would be nothing worth him. And those words of his this examinat hath already declared upon his oath to Mr. Taylor and Mr. Reye.

"The Mark of Thomas Bristowe.

"John Bycknolde of Merrow aforesaid weaver exd. saith that he heard Martin Clypsain Vicar aforesaid often say that Prayer was good for the dead and that he would prove the same, to whom this ext. saying Mr. Taylor and Mr. Reye did preach the contrary, he answered they were but children to him.

"John Bychnolde's Mark.

"Johane Share of Merrow, widow of the age of fifty years, examined, saith that the said Martin Clipsain, talking with her, did say that she might employ the good fellow and help any good fellow at his need and he would be her surety it should never be espied.

"Signum dedit Johane.

"To the Right Worshipful Mr. William Fletewood, Esq.,
Sergeant at Law and Recorder of the City of London."

Clipsain, we are told by More, "hath been an old Mass priest." Evidently an apostate. Whence did he come? We have not been able to trace; but what seems fairly certain is that he turned to the Egyptians for the sake of the flesh-pots of Egypt. If Joanne Share and John Bycknold and Thomas Bristowe spake true, his belief was not that which Elizabeth would dictate to him, and it would almost appear that he entertained a secret wish for a reversion to the old days of Catholicity. A year had passed and he had been tracked to London, and thence summoned to appear before the Recorder who sent him to More. When in the presence of the Magistrate he denied that he had ever said such pernicious things as were reported against him. More, hearing that he was of Merrow, sent him to Sir Thomas Browne. I have not been able to trace this terrible affair any further. As far as I know the following letter ends the story :—

Clyfton curate of Merrow.

Letter to Sir Thomas Browne :—

> " With remembrance of our duties unto your good L. whereas Master Clyfton late curate of Merrow within this County of Surrey was presented by the churchwardens and sidemen of the same to the Official deputy of this same County for speaking certain words amongst others concerning the change of this world, whereunto the said deputy made us privey at the last quarter Sessions holden the 4th of this present, we presently sent for the same Martin and his accusors but he being then slipt aside to London as we were afterwards informed we wrote our lettres to Mr. Recorder for his apprehension sending him the copy of the accusation against him to show order might be taken with him as the case should require. Since which time upon advertisement from Mr. Recorder of the said Martin's return into these parts we caused him to be brought before us with his accusors who have justified unto his face their declarations which made against him with the said deputy, it may like your L. to receive hereinclosed. He doth deny the words but seemeth to be very likely to utter the same considering his whole course of life. He saith that he hath made your L. privy to the premisses and terrified his accusors to cancel their oathes of authority and therefore we have signified unto your L. at the (mayor Horsham) our proceedings.
>
> " And have also sent him unto you according to request by the letters hereof With whom it may please you to take such order as to your L. shall seem convenient. And thus we commit your L. to the merciful of Almighty God. Guildford this 22nd of July, 1582.
>
> " Your L. to command,
>
> " WILLIAM MORE."

(*Loseley, Bundle ut supra.*)

However, the story is of use, as it shows what freedom was brought about by the Reformation. Admittedly this Curate of Merrow had not delivered himself of any public speeches of an indictable nature; but some chance utterances in the ear of a busy widow of Merrow, or the, as usual, illiterate Churchwardens. He had said that he thought a change might come about in this world, also that he was disposed to help "any good fellow at his need," and "that prayer was good for the dead."

Although he had never preached these things they were quite enough to form the basis of an indictment. This was the liberty of the Reformation.

It is also one of the numerous cases which the history of those times provides for us in proof that the change of authority from the Pope was only a change of the person to whom absolute unthinking obedience should be given. The Crown was made the supreme teacher, the only judge in matters of faith, whose decisions were to be final. Loseley contains yet another letter as an instance of this exercise of authority on the part of the Queen's Government. In this case the decision is pronounced against a sect called the "Family of Love." It was undoubtedly an evil sect, but two things interest us in the condemnation. The first is that they were condemned and imprisoned on account of their beliefs; and the second is that they were very largely represented in the country, having a great many adherents.

(*Loseley*, Vol. V., n. 18.)

> "Whereas by your letters to my Lord of Winchester appeareth that you have conferred with Allen, committed to the Gaol by the commissioners for ecclesiastical causes and that upon conference he hath not only showed himself to be of sound judgment in religion, but also hath declared me by name to be his accuser whereby it might seem unto you he had not been well used at my hands, and that upon some private respect I had dealt uncharitably with him, I had thought good to signify unto you at large not only the cause of his apprehensions and committing to the gaol, but also the demeanour of the man of long time.
>
> "My Lord of Winchester being informed that this County of Surrey was greatly infected with many of the 'Family of Love' wrote his letters to all the Justices of the peace of the same to use some diligence for the detection of them and that upon one day a general search might be made through the same County of all their houses that were suspected to be of that 'Family' for those books of hymns had in use amongst them.

Whereupon I searched the said Allen's house and found there a book of hymns privately hidden at the very time of my coming for I saw his wife, when she did secretly cover it. Hereupon the said Allen was brought before the Commissioners, and being examined publicly by my L. of Winchester whether Christ were like in substance to God, confessed the same but would not in any wise that He was the same substance. And also upon further examination by his L. he would not acknowledge him the author of his book to be a sinner and either that he was inferior unto Christ, but rather above him.

" For these detestable heresies he was committed to the gaol and not upon my accusation. He was about 17 years past convented for divers heresies before my L. of Canterbury, then Bishop of London and before the L. Commissioners of the same and thereupon did openly recant them at Guildford and in his own parish church, and under these ever since vehemently suspected to be a chief seducer of divers to be of histeretical opinions and hath been termed an Elder amongst them these 20 years past. Of all which I have thought good to give you notice to the end you should understand that he was not imprisoned without cause, that I was not his accuser and also what hath been of long time his demeanour.

" And so with my most hearty commendations I recommend us all to the merciful tuition of Almighty‸God.

" Loseley, this 26th of September.

" Yours always to use

" Wylt More.

" A letter to Mr. Cronley (?) [Croucher ?]
and others touching
Allen the Anabaptist."

" A letter from the Council [almost destroyed] ordering the arrest of members of the ' Family of Love,' and that they should be kept close prisoners."

The letter is dated 11th Oct., 1580, from Richmond.

(*Loseley,* Vol. V., n. 7.)

Speaking of the " Family of Love " seems to bring in fittingly another manuscript of the Loseley collectors about some domestic affair relating to Sir Thomas Browne. It is a curious document. I regret very much that I am unable to supplement it with any other, but it appears from this that Mr. Browne's son North, had not conducted himself as he should, but that he had given considerable trouble to his parents, so much so indeed, that Lady Browne had fallen sick in consequence. Evidently the undutiful son could not be brought to a sense of his evil ways except through magisterial force :—

"*Sr. Thomas Browne to Sr Wm. More re his Son North.*

> "Sir I send you hereinclosed my Lord of Leycester's letters directed unto you which I never saw and therefore know not the effect of them ; but they be written (as I think) rather in my son North's favour than otherwise. And yet I cannot deny but he is greatly to be discommended and blamed for sundry his evil actions, broils and quarrels in the matter whereof I made you privy. Yet nevertheless upon circumstances of the matter it will fall out as I am yet persuaded that now at the last, Edward Sackvile is most blameworthy. But, whosoever it be, my desire is not only to have my son North and Edward Sackvile brought before you, but also my wife's son, Henry Knyvet, at the time and place you shall direct and appoint, which I shall desire you may be done with as much speed as may be for the prevention and avoiding of further mischief, very like shortly to come pass. I pray you also, if you have or shall appoint any new day for the sitting about the commission at Chertsey, that you will certify me thereof with speed. Thus with my very hearty commendations and my wife's (who by occasion of these broiles is fallen sick and so remaineth) to you and my good Lady Moore, I commend you to the protection of the living God Whom I beseech to preserve you and your's to your own heart's desire. Betchworth Castle the 5th of September, 1582.
>
> "Your assured friend
>
> "THOMAS BROWNE.
>
> "To the Right worshipful
> Sir William More Knight
> these be dd.

(*Loseley, Bundle Letters*, 1581 to 1600.)

Evidently there was not very much happiness in that family.

The troubles of Magistrates may well be imagined from all this miscellaneous correspondence. But it was not only their sons, however, that stood in the way of their unalloyed happiness, either because they quarrelled or because they were not ready to follow their parents in the reformed religion, but frequently it happened that their own attendants and clerks went over to the enemy. We have an instance of that, which is related in the following letter, the draft of which alone is preserved at Loseley, and which I have copied :—

"*Sir Wm. More to the Lords of the Council re apprehension of John Warren and his son.* (*draft of letter.*)

"Our duty unto your honourable Lordships remembered. It may please the same to be advertised that we have used our dilligence for the apprehension of John Warren otherwise Clark and have caused his house to be searched for him but he absenteth himself from his house. So that we cannot according to your Lordship's pleasure, send him to Mr. Secretary. His wife told the officers that he was attendant upon Mr. Slyfield his Master at London, where by her report he is to be had. It is to be thought he doubteth some matter in that he absenteth himself, knowing that he hath been searched for, his son remaining in ward. Which his son (although he be but a boy) yet we have thought good by this bearer to send him for the affirmation of his examination sent unto your L. in our last letter, whom it may please your L. either to be discharged or detained as may seem good unto you. And thus we beseech God long to preserve you in honour with much increase of the same. At Guildford this 28th of January 1583. "At your L. commandment."

(*Loseley, ut supra.*)

We note in this letter how, although a mere boy, the son of this John Warren was detained by the pursuivants in order to extract information from him. It very frequently happened that mere children were treated with the utmost barbarity for the purpose of thus extorting from them knowledge useful to the pursuers. In the letter I have quoted however, we are not told of any violence of this kind, but what is evident is that John Warren, who was attendant upon Mr. Slyfield, the Sheriff, was suspected as a recusant. Unless the Magistrates showed great zeal in their harsh treatment of the recusants they were quickly called to order by the Council and made to tighten the screws. More and his colleagues had evidently not given complete satisfaction in this way, they had been too tender in their dealings. Probably the families of Southampton and Browne had some influence, but they were watched, and so More received the following order from the Council :—

Order to proceed against prisoners in Clink, White Lion, and other prisons.

From the Council.

Order to proceed against the prisoners in the Clink and White Lion there confined as Recusants.

"After our hearty commn. Whereas we are ever to understand that in yor proceeding wth the Recusants of that Countie of Surrey, accordinge to the late Statute provided for the conteyninge of her maties Subjects in their due obedience you have hitherto forborne to towche all those Recusants that are remayninge in the Clincke White lyon and other prisons wthin that part of the Countie, wherefore we doe not a lyttle mrveyle supposeinge that you are not ignorante, that by order from us heretofore wth thadvise of her maties Learned Counsell all such prisors as are comytted for their disobedience in Religion, beynge offered to resorte unto the church wth their keper to avoid the penaltie of the Statute, and shall refuse so to doe, they shalbe thereupon indicated and proceeded wthall, as the rest that doe remayne in obstynate and are at lyberte: Theis are therefore to require you to followe that order wth the prisoners comytted for Religion to yor prisons in Surrey. And so to proceed to their Indictment judgment and execucon accordinge to the direcon of the said Statute.

"Whereof we require you there may be no defaulte. And so byd you harlety farewell. From the Courte at Grenewiche the laste of Februarye 1581.

"Yor loveinge freinds

"E. LINCOLN	T. SUSSEX	F. KNOLLYS.
JAMES CROFTE	CHRS HATTONS	F. WALSINGHAM.

"To or verie loveinge freinds
the Sheriff and Justices
of the peace in the
Countie of Surreye
Sherifs and Justices of Surrey."

(*Loseley*, Vol. V., n. 19.)

The next year the Sheriff above mentioned wrote to Mr. More, Mr. Browne and others as follows:—

Mr. Slyfied (*Sheriff*) (*Loseley*, Vol. V., n. 23.)
to summon jailors to accuse Recusants.

"To the Right Worshll Sr Wm More and Sr Thomas Browne Knights John Wolley, John Skinner, George More and John Cowper Esquires.

"After my very harty comm. giving you to understand that I have received this present Tuesday your letters wherein you require me to give straight charge to all the gailors of every prison within this County personally to appear before you at the next quarter sessions at Reygate with such witnesses as they have of the Recusant's refusall, as remain in their several charges that they might there be dealt with all according to the

Statute in that behalf pvided and according to the letters lately directed unto us from the Ls. of her Mags. most hon. privy counsell. Therefore these are to advertise you that I will take pvte order, with the said Gailors according to your said letter. And whereas you willed me to take order for the due execution of such process as I have for the appearance of all such Recusants as remain at liberty I assure you I have received none, neither do I perceive your meaning in that behalf. And thus I bid you most heartily farewell.

" Leyfield : this XVIIth of April 1582.

" Your loving friend,

" EDMOND SLYFIELD (Sheriff)."

The letter tells us of the vigilance exercised over the Magistrates and the gaolers. A vigilance, be it noted, not intended for the benefit of the Recusants.

In considering the matter of the difficulties of Magistrates, we come across a letter of Sir William More, in which he complains to the Bishop of Winchester about interference with his post of Keeper of Farnham Castle.

According to More the post was not a lucrative one : two liveries and £5 (or in modern coinage £60) yearly. Still he was loath to dissolve partnership. There were advantages in the office, as it was an assistance to him in many ways :—

(*Loseley, Bundle Letters*, 1581 ot 1600.)

" With remembrance of my duty unto your good Lordship, it may please the same to understand that Philip Hormer my servant, the bearer hereof, keeper of your L. castle of Farnham under me declared this present day unto me that one Mr. Parson, your L. servant came unto him willing him to avoid from the custody of your castle for that your L. had given him the office of the portorship of the same. Whereof I have thought good by these to inform your L. of my interest therein. Then it is that my very good L. Bishop Horne after his having the bishopric, finding Henry White constable of the said Castle not taking the charge and keeping thereof as appartained, expulsed him from the office and gave the same unto me. And after his L. made one Richardson, hs serant, porter of the said castle, who by colour thereof pretended to have the keeping. of the castle ; wherewith I finding mysel grieved because he sought thereby to impeach my grant, I wrote unto his L. therein. Who answered me by his letter written all with his own hand ;

that he meant not by his grant any manner of words to deprive me of the custody of the castle, to whom it did appertain, but only that the said Richardson should enjoy the portership with the see thereof Notwithstanding, after his L. decease while the See was vacant, the said Richardson pretended title to the keeping of the said castle, whereupon I was content to submit myself to the judgment of Mr. Cowpoer of the Temple Mr. Heles of Greysinn Mr. Ashtone and Mr. Hampden as far as I remember. Two of these being his dear friends, that if they thought he ought to have the keeping of the Chapel by law or conscience I would presently yield the same unto him. Who met and heard the proffs of both sides at length to his satisfaction as I then thought. Nevertheless he afterwards exhibited a supplication to my L. Treasurer against me very clamorously whereupon his L. wrote to me therein, whom I so answered that his L. held himself fully satisfied therewith. Immediately after your L. last predecessor had the bishoprick the said Richardson again moved him touching the premisses, who, being informed of the truth of the same rejected his suite so that, until this present, I heard no more thereof. I am well assured that all the said attempts hath been by the practice of one not to me unknown who hath sought to buy the said office of the portership, thinking thereby to encroach upon mine office. Truly my Lord, I have not the benefit of one penny by keeping of the Castle, and therefore would not contend for the same were it not that by the foregoing of it I should endanger the office I have under your L. my Servant that keepeth it hath that little benefit that groweth of the same, my two liveries and £5 yearly, if he shall disorder himself any manner of way, I shall, upon notice from your L. thereof dispurchase him and appoint another to your good contentment. My desire is unto your good L. that if this my declaration doth not satisfy you that then either the matter may be decided by some indifferent persons that are learned, or else by the ordinary trial in Law between thesame Mr. Parson your L. grantee of the said portorship and me. Whereunto I will submit myself without delay, trusting that in the meantime with your L. good favour my said servant may under me keep the said Castle as he hath hitherto done. And thus having troubled your L. with this long letter I beseech God long to preserve you in His favour. At Loseley, this 6th of September 1585

Always at your Lordship's
commandment.'

"B. of Winchester."

This case of the Keeper of Farnham Castle calls to mind a most curious history in connection with another mansion under the jurisdiction of the same bishop—the Winchester Gaol. The documents which relate the story are not in the Loseley Collection. They are at the Public Record Office. But I have copied them because they are of interest here as showing a very remarkable chain of circumstances, which, for a time at least, made life in that gaol more bearable for Catholics, and proportionately irritated the zealous protestant Bishop.

The trouble arose over the too lenient treatment of Father Edward Kennyon who was imprisoned for his priesthood in Winchester gaol. He was not treated as a common thief and kept in irons and on prison fare—but with what kindness a humane gaoler was able to show. The matter was reported to the Bishop, who considered it a subject for the most careful enquiry. He accordingly wrote to Secretary Cecil :—

> "Rt. Honorble. The immoderate favour the gaoler here in Hampshire sheweth to Edward Kennyon, priest, lately committed to his keeping, by order from yourself and others of the Lords of the Privy Council, as well in freeing the said priest of irons and feasting him at his own house, as in suffering all sorts of recusants to repair to him, was such, that by no means I might dissemble or conceal from your honour, with promise that I would, against the time of our assizes here, put your honour in remembrance to require the judges of this circuit to have care that such extreme contempt of law and duty might not escape unpunished. Albeit, therefore, I seek no man's undoing against his desert, nor take upon me to determine in judgment whether it were a wilful or negligent escape, yet I have to put you in mind thereof, and to pray you that such examples of extreme neglect pass not uncontrolled, but be examined and rewarded according to the demerit of the man and the cause. Which having done, I cease to trouble your honour any further for this present, and commit the same to the mercies of Almighty God.
>
> "From my house at Waltham, this 7 day of February 1599.
>
> "Your honour's in all affection,
>
> "THO. WINTON."

(Dom. Eliz. Vol. 274 n. 34. copied from Jes. Rec. Vol. 3 p. 544.)

As the following documents will show, Father Edward Kenyon escaped from prison in the year 1597, apparently with the collusion of the gaoler. He does not appear to have been recaptured, and what eventually became of him I have been unable to trace.

The story related on the depositions of the prisoners is very interesting, and therefore I give all the documents as they come in the bound volume 273, No. 23, at the Record Office. The last two documents, however, being largely a repetition of what preceded, I give in summary :—

I, "To the Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Cecill, Knight, Sec. to her
"Maj. The Bp. of Winchester

"Concerning Kennyon the priest lately escaped.

"Rt. hon. ; though I presume Mr. Sollicitor general, by reason of his presence at the time & place, & examination of the cause hath acquainted you with the escape of Edward Kennyon priest out of the prison ; who was sent up by me this summer and returned back hither with two letters from the Lords & yourself to have him here proceeded with by law, & thereupon after conference persisting, was by me committed to the Gaol of Winchester in as strict manner as I could devise, where he was rather daily feasted as a guest, than safely kept as a traitor, & suffered most wilfully to escape upon the very day that he doubted to be produced ; yet thought I fit, after farther enquiry made, to send to your Honour, as well the examination of the fact taken by Mr. Sollicitor and others, while I was busied about the redressing of some slackness & abuse in the rating of the Subsidy : as also such other informations here inclosed as came since to my knowledge : whereby your Honour will soon perceive the Gailor's dissolute carelessness in keeping such prisoners, & his wilful favouring & dismissing of Recussants in execution to the Queen, out of prison at his pleasure ; which boldness and presumption of his doth, & will do more harm if it be not repressed, than all the Justices and Commissioners here will be able to do good. I hope therefore it will please the Ls and you, when the time cometh to give the Judges in charge that they proceed severally to the punishing of this open & wilful neglect, in so high a case as this is according to the Laws ; which I doubt not are strict enough if they be executed ; whereof I will not fail, God willing, against the time to put your Honour in remembrance lest other weighty matters happily remove this out of mind. I likewise thought good to advertise your Honour what I find touching the State of the Gail ; how cunningly it is carried by close conveyances & where the right of inheritance now lieth, that your wisdom in Her Maj's behalf may accordingly dispose of it, as you see cause. I learn that the Manor of Woodcote here in Hampshire, was given by the King to the Ancestors of one Anthony Duedale a Recusant & lately dead, for the safe keeping of the Goale, who in his lifetime fearing the danger of the law, & loath that the prisoners for Recusancy should come into any man's keeping but at his own appointing, conveyed the inheritance of the Goal with the aforesaid Manor of Woodcote unto Anthony Brewning his daughter's son a child of seven years age, the father and mother both recusants, which is the true reason why no man hath or shall have the keeping of the Goal, but such as will be at their beck for the favouring of Recusants. The child is a ward for his tenure, as I take it, and so at your Honour's disposition together with the manor of Woodcote lying here within six miles of my house: you may do your pleasure with it, till he come of age; if this and such other wilful escapes & releasings of prisoners do not indanger the inheritance and reduce it back to the Queen's hands. The conveyance will easily be found, for that by search I understand the maker and executor of the same were two that now are my Officers, and will be ready when you think good to witness the same. Thus much I thought meet to impart to your Honour, as well for the good of the Country as Your own right: And so with my prayers to God for your welfare, I rest in all dutiful affection to be commanded by your Honour. From my house at Waltham the 5th of November, 1699.

"Your honour's in all dutiful affection

"Tho. Winton.

II. "Vicesimo Septemvris 1598 At Romesey before Mr.
Doctor Ridley Chancellor of the diocese of
Winchester in his visitaion then & there holden.

"Thomas Canterton, als Grove als Steven als Bale examined saith that he is a prisoner in the Gaol of Winchester for religion, but hath not been there since the last Assizes. And confesseth that he is now absent by leave of Mr. Unedale and that Mr. Unedale told him that he had a licence from the Justices of Assises for the enlargement of him & some others to work for their living. And that he useth to return to every Sessions and Assises upon warning sent to him from the keeper.

"Being demanded what he hath given for his enlargement saith he hath given nothing. But being demanded to take his oath thereof denieth so to do."

III. "Quinto Octobris 1598. Before the Rev Father in Christ the L. Bishop of Winchester and other her Majy Commissioners ecclesiastical of that Diocese.

"The said Commissioners caused to appear before them Richard Bruning Esquire declaring unto him that where now the inheritance of the Common Gaol in Winchester is decended unto him by the death of Mr. Anthony Unedale late deceased for that they understood by sundry complaints that many Recusants who formerly have been committed to that prison are now at large. Therefore they required him to enter bond to her Maj. to this purpose that all the said Recusants which ought to be prisoners there be safely kept in that Gaol according to the law. Whereto the said Richard Bruning answered & alleged that Mr. William Unedale hath heretofore used the Custody of that Gaol as deputy under the said Mr. An. Unedale And that he now purposes to oversee Mr. Unedale that he shall better look to the gaol & to the safe custody of the Recusants therein committed And that he thinketh it very reasonable that the said Mr. Unedale should be bound to that effect. Then appeared Mr. William Unedale unto whom the Commissioners caused to be readen the examination of Thomas Cannterton at the last visitation of Romesey bieng one of the Recusants formerly in his charge in the said Gaol appearing also at this time. Whereunto the said Unedale answered that the said Cannterton is a wanderer and that he did not see him since midsomer last was twelvemonth. And therefore the said Unedale now prayed the Commissioner that he might newly attach him into his said custody. The said Unedale farther confesseth that two of Gooter's children, one Gendge, and one fidler also Recusants committed to the said Gaol, have by abusing of him long absented themselves out of the Gaol. He pretendeth that by the leave of the Justices of Assise upon his own suit & motion for charity sake he suffered seven of the poorer sort of Recusants of the said Gaol to go at liberty for a small time to get their living by their labour & prayed some time to seek them out and get them in again.

IV. "Vicesimo octava Septembris 1599: before the Rev. Father in Christ Thomas Lord Bishop of Winchester and other her Maj's Commissioners for causes ecclesiastical within the diocese of Winchester.

"Robert Foy gent of Estmeane a known Recusant being lately apprehended by warrant from the said Commissioners and making his appearance the day & year aforesaid. Upon examination confesseth that he hath been a Recusant these 20 years past, and hath been prisoner for his said recusancy in the Common Gaol at Winchester during most of these years, and that by the space of seven years whilst he remained there he was not put in the Kalender when the Assises were holden in the County of South. And further that about seven years past he obtained leave of Mr. William Unedale gent deputy keeper of the said Gaol to go thence to his house at Estmeone and that since that time he hath not returned to the said Gaol. And that since his said liberty obtained he hath been at London three weeks together in the term time."

V. "The Examination of Valentine Noyse one of the under keepers of the Common Gaol in Winchester for the County of South. the 3rd day of October 1599.

"This examinate confesseth that William Unedale his master keeper of the said Gaol having received Edward Kennion a seminary priest and committed to his custody as a Traitor safely to be kept by warrant from the right reverend Father the now Lord Bishop of Winton, did commit the special charge of the safe keeping of the said priest into the Gaol to Thomas Garnet his servant and Underkeeper there also, And saith that the said Thomas Garnet did not since the committing of the said priest to his charge lie above five nights in the Gaol. He also saith that the priest in the daytime was usually in the parour of the right hand of the entry at the Gaol door, and most nights he lay with Anthoine Norton the recusant and some nights in the parour. He also confesseth the priest's father came on Monday last to the prison to his son the priest, and there did talk with him by the space of half an hour: and yesterday morning about five of the clock some hour the priest escapes, his father came again to the prison and talked with his son about a quarter of an hour.

"And Antoine Norton and Marks White and one Bidlecombe were then present. And saith that the priest's father at his first coming did enquire for the said Anthoine Norton and not for his son, and that there came nobody in his company but himself alone. He saith that the father of the priest did lie at the house of . . . Field of Fulflood within a mile of Winchester and that this examinate going after the priest being escaped about eight of the clock yesterday morning did meet the said Field and the priest's father coming from Field's house in a lane in the backside of Hydestreet. He saith the said Thomas Garnet yesterday morning when the priest escaped had taken two prisoners with him out of the Gaol into the Town to drink. This examinat saith that he remaining in the Gaol one . . . Joye a Recusant being a prisoner in the gaol desired this examinat that he might go into the garden of the Gaol and so through to Richard Cooke's house to see his nag, and this examinat went with the said Joye to the garden and the priest called to this examinat and desired him to stay Joye and that they two might walk in the garden together. And thereupon the said examinat did stay the said Joye until the priest came, & so let them both go into the garden, & when they were in the garden this examinat locked the garden door & came back to the prison again, & there remained by the space of a quarter of an hour, & then returned and opened the garden door & found nobody there, the priest was gone and this examinat met with Joye, coming as he said from Richard Cook's and this examinat asked him for the priest, and he answered he knew not where he was, but said he, the priest borrowed of me 2s. in the Garden before I went to Cooks, which I lent him, & since I saw him not. He saith that the priest came into the garden with his rug gown wrapped close about him which gown was found in goodwife Baylie's garden which is within a hedge of the Gaol garden. And this gown was the gown of one Thomas Abraham the recusant prisoner then in the Gaol with the priest which Abraham escaped within half an hour before & went out of the Gaol door, and immediately after him went out also Geoffrey Miles an other Recusant, and he sayeth that the priest is said to follow the said Miles out of the North gate with a greyish cloak on his back, which cloak was Markes White's for he had such a cloak, which now upon search is missing. He also saith that the said Abraham, hath a house in Hydestreet not far from the said North gate and that this examinat following after the priest was told by 2 boys that were in a close at harrowing hard by the end of Hydestreet that they saw the said Abraham whom they knew well with one other young man going very fast over the fields, whom this examinat did track a little way, & found it was Abraham by the track of his foot, having clubbish short feet. And he confesseth that this priest had never any irons laid on since he came to the Gaol. Taken before us

"THOMAS FLEMING
JOHN SEYMOUR
RICHARD MILLES."

VI. "The examination of William Myles, prisoner in the Gaol of Winchester, for the Court of South, for recusancy taken the 3rd of October 1599.

"This examinat saith that yesterday morning about eight of the clock he came out of the Gaol being a prisoner there for recusancy convicted, the keeper Thomas Garnet standing fast by the door permitting this examinat to pass by him. This examt. saith that he went out of the north gate & staid at the lane at the bridge's end, and not seeing his wife whom he looked for immediately returned and saw nobody neither following him nor coming after him, and he returned to the prison.

"Taken before us THOMAS FLEMING.
RICHARD MYLES.

"Thomas Garnet one of the Underkeepers of the same prison corroborates the above evidence: He further states that he was told by his Master Mr. Wm Unedale that if he thought he could keep the priest safe without irons he was to lay none on him. He was twice invited to dinner by Unedale."

No. 23, *VII.*

"The examination of Valentine Noise one of the underkeepers of the gaol of Winchester taken before the Lord B. of Winchester the day and year aforesaid. Almost verbatim the same as the preceding examinations.

VIII.

"The examination and saying of Andrew Valence of Rumsey in the Co. of South. tanner, aged fifty years or thereabouts, taken before the L.B. of Winch. the 26th day of Oct. 1599 saith as followeth.

"This is the deposition of a prisoner for debt in the gaol of Winchester. He gives corroborative evidence of the above, stating that he had heard that the priest was convcited as a traitor. He says that the priest, though a prisoner of quality, had not been put in irons because the keeper who was a Recusant had not wished it. He further tells the story of his invitation to dinner first at the instance of the keeper & second at the wish of the keeper's wife. Moreover he says that once Mrs. Unedale came with several other women who were recusants & they walked with the priest in the garden. He states that on several occasions the priest was regaled with venison ready cooked sent him by Mr. Unedale. He adds that the keys of the prison were in the hands of Recusants."

It is not possible to check with any certainty the foregoing statements. Whether the prison was really in the hands of Catholics or not, we cannot say. All that appears from the evidence is that the authorities immediately responsible for the management of the gaol were humane persons and were evidently convinced that Catholics were not necessarily of the criminal class because they were Catholics, nor indeed were Catholics, as such, disloyal to their Queen and country. But the Bishop opined otherwise and moved with the spirit of a reformer, he was determined to make Catholics feel hardships to the utmost degree.

A petition to Sir William More from the prisoners in the White Lion shows what was the treatment meted out certainly in some gaols at the time. It is more after this manner of treatment that the Bishop of Winchester would wish the prison authorities under his jurisdiction to act.

"*Petition of Prisoners in the White Lion.*

> "*A petition* to Sir Wm. Moore from Prisoners in the Wite Lion, Southwark.
>
> "Right worshipfull maister Moore this shalbe to Beseak your worship to take some pitty uppon us your poore and obedient Subjects, whiche lye here in prysson upon your commandement whear that wee are lick to perrishe for defayet of sustenauncies yf your wurship faverrable and mercyfull hand be not streatched furthe to take some mercy upon us for the lord knowes we shall not be able to ues our lymes to helpe ourselves wth all herafter yf we do lye here in this imprysoonment longe and being so far frome any frend to helpe us in this myssairable caess that we cann not have no forend nor Kynnesman to helpe us in this heavy caesse therfor we umble besse your wurship for the lords sake to release us for we do from our very harts acknoled and confesse oure selfs to be offendars and to have done against the law of the Reame beseking your wurship for pardon for this our traunsegresseon and we shall be contented to part home into our contray, be gods grace yf we shall do to the contrary we will be contented to suffer deathe presently without Judgment yf that we do not streaghtways dep hence without the vexasion or diss-turbaunce of any maner of pson wthin theasse peartes or any elles whear in this contrary wherfore we unblye Beseeck yor wurship for the Lords sacke that deleverd us all out of prysson and forgave us all our detts to showe at this tume of imprysson-ment and in so doing we shall be dealy bound to pray ffor your wurship while lieffe doeth induer wherffor ffor your lordship

saecks we beseick you even ffor the lords sackes gave us ensample to ffollow his steppes let your mercy ffall I beseick you in this tyme of our myserable staet nothing dowting by Gods grace but to amend our lyeffes and never to offend in any thiting herrafter the Lord psarve your wurshipp in prossperous health with continewance of long lyeffe unto the Lords will and pleasure. Amen.

" By your poore pryssoners
At White Lion in sowthork."

Indorsed " unto the Right wurshipful Mr. Moore, Justis of peace."

This in Sr W. More's handwriting.
" *Egyptians, Southwark.*"
" At Loessley in Surrey geve this."

(*Loseley*, Vol. V., n. 42.)

The endorsement in More's handwriting would not give us to understand that he was softened by the appeal.

From all we have seen in this chapter the worries that beset the persecutors did not arise from a desire to build up, but rather a determination to pull down. They created martyrs for the Catholic Church and undying infamy for the champions of their own creed.

Thus did Jesabel suborn witnesses, while Achab entered into possession of the Vineyard of Naboth.

CHAPTER III

THE ROLL OF HONOUR

No Roll of Honour occupies a higher place in the esteem of righteous men than that of the Saints of God who braved a long and bitter persecution rather than renounce their Faith ; for this implies a love and fidelity as far removed from flesh and blood as heaven from earth. The object of this endurance is of its very essence supernatural and the reward which it deserves is not to be expected in this world.

> " Let us now praise men of renown, and our fathers in their generation."—*Eccl. xliv.*

These men of renown are the martyrs and confessors whose names are perpetuated on the crumbling records of long ago and preserved with jealous care in Muniment Rooms and State Paper Offices.

In this chapter we are concerned with the Roll of Honour preserved at Loseley. Of this Roll of Honour we may be permitted still further to quote the words of Ecclesiasticus :

> " Such as have borne rule in their dominions, men of great power, and endued with their wisdom, showing forth in the prophets the dignity of prophets, and ruling over the present people, and by the strength of wisdom instructing the people in most holy words. Such as by their skill sought out musical tunes, and published canticles of the scriptures. Rich men in virtue, studying beautifulness : living at peace in their houses. All these have gained glory in their generations, and were praised in their days. They have left a name behind them, that their praises might be related ; and there are some, of whom there is no memorial ; who are perished, as if they had never been ; and are born, as if they had never been born, and their children with them. But these were men of mercy, whose godly deeds have not failed ; good things continue with their seed, their posterity are a holy inheritance, and their seed hath stood in the covenants. And their children for their sakes remain for ever ; their seed and their glory shall not be forsaken. Their

> bodies are buried in peace, and their name liveth unto generation and generation. Let the people show forth their wisdom, and the church declare their praise."—*Ibid.*

How aptly all this fits in with our subject may be seen from the foregoing chapters, and will appear more fully in the course of this; for in our lists and other documents are the names of rulers such as Justice Southcote, of lovers of music such as Copley, of writers and scholars, such as John Fisher, Thomas More, Edmund Campion and Edward Rishton.

I have yet two more letters to put in from the Loseley collection which deal directly with the persecution of Catholics. The first dates from the reign of Elizabeth. It speaks of one Hardy, of Farnham, evidently a Catholic who had been bold enough to speak openly in defence of two Catholic martyrs named Body and Slaid. Hardy has been arrested for his temerity, and it is likely that he will be sent to the Lords of the Council to be dealt with according to the rigours of the law. Such speeches were treasonable and punishable by death.

> " Sir, with humble remembrance of our duties unto your honour. Upon information given unto us that one Hardy of Farnham, a man illaffected in religion, had spent certain speache in a public place of the same town to the defence of Body and Slaid lately executed at Winchester and of the cause for which they died. We thought good immediately according to our duty therein to call the said Hardy and his accusers before us, whose examinations we have taken, and think it fit herewith to send the same unto your honours, being desirous to be advertised from you what order you think best to be taken with him. We have committed him to ward, where he shall be detained until such time as we shall understand your honour's pleasure therein whether to send him to the Right Honourable the L. of her Majesty's Privy Counsel, or to committ him to the gaol, or to take some other course with him. And thus expecting your answer herein, we wish all honour unto you with good and happy increase of the same.
>
> " At Guildford."
>
> *Los. MS., Vol. V., No.* 61.

Cardinal Allen in his " Defence of English Catholics," tells us that Mr. John Slaid and Mr. John Body were both forced to say what they thought of the Queen's spiritual supremacy. They were not in the least unwilling to speak their minds; they bravely confessed their faith, asserting the Pope's spiritual sovereignty, and refusing to acknowledge the Queen to be head of the Church of England, "or to have any spiritual regiment." They were therefore twice condemned to death at two divers sessions (a rare thing in this country). Apparently the first judgment was invalid through some legal flaw; hence they were a second time arraigned and condemned to death. "Whereupon one of them was executed at Winchester, the other at Andover."

One thing remarkable about these two martyrdoms is that neither Slaid nor Body were at any time charged with disloyalty or treason. When the holy Confessor John Body was about to die a 'chief gentleman and minister of execution' said to him: "Confess your fault for the satisfaction of the world, in the cause of your death." To this the martyr replied by protesting his loyalty in temporal things, and then continued: "You shall understand good people, that I suffer death for denying her Majesty to be supreme head of Christ's Church in England in causes ecclesiastical; other, treasons, except they make the Holy Mass, or saying Ave Maria, treason, I have committed none."

In like manner when Slaid stood ready for execution, "one Doctor Bennet, a great minister of their new congregation" cried out to him: "Let not the Pope that unworthy Priest, be preferred before thine own natural Princess, who is the lawful supreme head of the Church next under Christ." Thus from the mouth of a Protestant minister it was made clear to all the people that Slaid was put to death for vindicating a religious principle.

The second letter which I now copy from the Loseley original is dated the 28th November, 1603. James is on the throne.

> "Sir my L. hath not yet determined what way to take homewards neither can he before he be at Court where to-morrow at night his Lordship God willing doe purpose to be. But for his coming to Loseley I am fully persuaded he will not, and the way he will take will be to Mr. Englefield and so home the next day.
>
> "Sr. W. Raleigh, L. Copham, L. Grey stand all there condemned and at the mercy of the Ks. maty. L. Copham at his trial deciphered Sr. W. Raleigh to be the ugliest traitor that ever was heard of in England, and where before he was much pitied now all that pity and compassion is clean wiped off. L. Cobham seemed to be very timorous and did importune their Lls very much to be mediators to the king for him; and the L. Grey showed spirit and courage invincible standing wholly upon his justification, but showed much vanity in the course of his defence, and when sentence was propounded he only desired to have

Mr Travers or Dr. Fyeld to confer with, and without any show of fear departed.

"To-morrow you say the 2 priests Watson and Cleark shall be executed in the Market Place at Wynchester. I do purpose if please God and my L. to give leave to take Loseley in my way home and then you shall know so much as I do know. In the mean I wish you health and all good blessings.

"From Wynchester 28 No. 1603.

"Yours wholly to command

"JO. PANTONE."

(*Los. MS. Letters,* 1601 *to* 1650).

This letter carries the mind back to the famous trial at Winchester of Sir Walter Raleigh, who was accused of complicity with Lord Cobham in treasonably plotting against James in favour of Arabella Stuart. He was condemned to death. However, the King commuted the sentence to one of imprisonment and Raleigh was confined in the Tower for twelve years. During that time he devoted himself to scientific and literary work. Visitors to the Tower are now shown the dungeon where he wrote his *History of the World* (?) In 1616 he bribed the favourite Villiers, who obtained his pardon from the King. James was the more moved to release him because of his offer to open a mine of gold which he believed to exist near the Orinoco. His hopes were not realised, and disaster attended the expedition which was led by Raleigh. This unscrupulous adventurer attacked the Spaniards and was routed. On his return to England he found that James was wrath with him for thus threatening to plunge his country into war. Hence to appease the Spanish Court he ordered Raleigh to be tried once more. This time no mercy was shown, and he was executed on October 29th, 1618.

But it is not for the benefit of this adventurer that I publish this letter—although even from this point of view it is of interest. The reader is asked rather to notice the laconic reference to the coming murder of two priests. The contrast between the treatment of the "ugliest traitor" and the two priests is very remarkable. For the time-server there was mercy; for the God-fearing and devoted Catholic priest there was none.

Now, before I proceed to mention the Priests whose names are on the lists at Loseley, it would be as well to give the reader an account of one who, although never ordained, suffered much for the Faith, and was received into the Jesuit Society while he was in prison. His name is Thomas Pounde. He is mentioned only once on our lists; but the tale of his labours and sufferings for the noblest of causes might well run into volumes.

He was born at Belmont, twelve miles from Winchester, on the 29th May, 1539, of William Pounde, a wealthy country gentleman, and Anne Wriothesley, sister of Thomas, Earl of Southampton, who was Godfather to this little nephew. Until the age of twenty-three he was a student in the College of Our Lady of Winchester. From thence, going to London, he prepared himself for forensic fame and distinction by the study of the law. It is hard to say in which of her gratuitous gifts nature was most bountiful to him, the mental or the corporal. He appeared, indeed, more graced in each advancing period of his life and growth, as was observed in his height, and in the strength and development of his limbs which made him vigorous and active. He delighted and excelled in all gymnastic and bodily exercises, and even in more advanced life, when quite grey-haired, he was a man of commanding and venerable aspect; qualities which helped to make him no slight favourite with men of high rank. He was richly furnished, also, with all the other gifts of mind that become an accomplished cavalier, being brave, self-possessed, most courteous, of exceedingly polished manners, generous in spending money, an eloquent speaker, and of ready wit. Upon the occasion of a solemn reception of Queen Elizabeth at Winchester College, he addressed her Majesty, to great applause, in a complimentary ode which he had himself composed. In the art of Latin verse, too, he had attained a considerable degree of excellence.

He was a Catholic at heart, but, being so favoured by fortune, and living at a time when the luxuries of Court life were at the height of their excesses, he succumbed to the allurements of his position and allowed himself to be swept into the vortex of worldly dissipation. He rivalled the gayest courtiers in their longing for fame. One can understand how so ready a wit and engaging a youth soon became the favourite in theatricals and sports of every kind; he was the star at all the entertainments and his name alone was sufficient attraction.

We can quite easily imagine what future might have been before Pounde if some sudden or unwonted turn of fortune's wheel had not come to switch this meteor from its dangerous course. God's ways are wonderful and the workings of Divine Grace in the hearts of men follow no plan that man can forecast. The conversion of Thomas Pounde from a life ot worldliness, void of spiritual aspirations, to a life of absolute renunciation and sanctity, was brought about by the most trivial circumstance and yet in the most startling manner.

It was during the Christmas festivities—not those pious commemorations in liturgy and prayer of the humble birth of the Saviour, but that corruption of the Christmas joys which turned the sacred season into a mere excuse for still greater worldly frivolity. In the year 1569, Thomas Pounde was again the hero of the masque; in fact he was not only the chief actor but the composer of the play. Loud applause attended all his efforts. It was a triumph of histrionics. The flower of the nobility and of the youth of London was present to acclaim his efforts. Elated beyond measure with the success of his performances, he at last executed one of his most wonderful accomplishments in the art of dancing, by balancing himself in the air at full height on tiptoe, and then spinning around like a top with lightning rapidity. It was marvellous, and the applause was so great that, emboldened by the encouragements and the "encores," he repeated the exploit; but, this time, with disastrous results. Growing giddy, he fell heavily to the ground, and now the applause gave way to uncontrollable laughter. The Queen herself, seeing an opportunity of showing off her wit at the expense of another (an opportunity which she rarely let pass) and approaching the fallen hero with mock ceremony as if to dub him knight, struck him with her foot, saying: "Arise, Sir Ox." It was the moment of grace for Pounde. Rising to his feet and retiring with face cast down he was heard to say: "Sic transit gloria mundi."

His conversion was complete: he left the court with all its allurements, the world with all its enchantments, and retired to his residence at Belmont. There he gave himself up to prayer. It was not the disappointed irritation of a peevish child of fortune that led him to this step, but the workings of Divine Grace that were drawing him to a Saviour Who wished him to suffer much for His Name; another Saul on the road to Damascus, struck down by a light from Heaven, and drawn aside till it should be revealed to him what was God's will in his regard. He remained at Belmont for some time and there he first conceived his desire of entering the Society of Jesus. But that desire was not to be accomplished until after very much suffering.

At court he had simulated conformity and now having made his submission to the Catholic Church, he at once set himself to make reparation for his shameful apostacy. In a few days he gave up his splendid residence and sought a lodging with a Catholic citizen. With him he dwelt for more than two years practising the greatest austerity and living the life of a recluse. During that time he had many visits from his friends who were importunate in tempting him back to his old life. However he remained firm in his original decision, and he bound himself by vow to the practice of perpetual chastity, resolving also when the time should be ripe to seek ordination in the priesthood.

At last, after this protracted penance of two years, together with a companion, a youth named Thomas Stevens, he was about to start on his journey for the Continent. But he was betrayed by the host under whose roof he was sheltered. The evening before the intended journey he was summoned by Sandys, the Bishop of London, and was called upon to answer certain questions touching his recusancy. Without any opportunity of defending himself he was immediately sent into prison. Although the disappointment must have been a great trial to human nature, he is said to have shown the most remarkable joy in the suffering with which he was threatened. For two years he languished in great misery and was frequently tortured with such extraordinary cruelty that his body was reduced to a wretched condition. The result of his constancy under these sufferings was the conversion of the false friend who had so shamefully betrayed him, and who was now deeply touched by his courage. When in prison Pounde was visited by the Protestant Bishop of London, who sought by every means to shake his resolution, but our confessor, while remaining firm, gave the Bishop the most courteous reception and at last to end the discussion, he said: " If I cannot recover my liberty otherwise than by offending God, I am firmly resolved that my soul shall rather be torn from my body, than that my body shall go forth from prison on such terms." Thus he remained in gaol for another six months, until his relative, the Earl of Southampton, interceded for him. He was liberated on the Earl's surety; but he was to remain in his house at Belmont, and to desist from religious discussions. He, however, declined to observe the latter condition and his zeal worked marvels of conversion while he was at large. Sixteen months were thus happily spent for the extension of the Kingdom of God—months that were galling to Horne, Protestant Bishop of Winchester, under whose jurisdiction he then came. The Bishop ordered him to be seized and sent to prison, and with him a number of other Catholic gentlemen. This ecclesiastic was a man of treacherous dealings, quite unscrupulous in his manner of browbeating Catholics, but Thomas Pounde was not to be intimidated. Having warned the Prisoners that too great freedom of speech during their examination would only injure the cause of the Roman religion in general and themselves also in particular, Horne indulged at great length in admonitions, instructions, insults, blasphemies, and self-laudations, while the prisoners remained silent. Then to crown the insult he called them " dumb Catholic dogs," and upbraided them with their ignorance. But the Bishop did not have it all his own way at the second interrogation, Pounde having been informed of the emptiness of the Bishop's threat seized the opportunity to silence him by the most convincing arguments. The only retort that Horne was able to make was an explosion of abuse which burst from him with the vehemence of a volcanic eruption. It was, according to the accounts of the many spectators present, a most disgraceful exhibition, and it ended in the Bishop ordering the Catholics to be handed over to the secular arm. For thirty years our martyr suffered captivity in prison after prison. Over and over again he was called upon to engage in controversy, first with one theologian and then with another, but as many as came so many returned discomforted.

The physical tortures to which he was subjected baffle all description. At one time he was immured in Bishop's Stortford Castle, Herts. There he was thrust into a cell a few feet underground in perpetual night, far removed from the society of men, with nothing but the bare clay for his bed, while his limbs were chained in heavy fetters and his brutal gaoler added cruelty upon cruelty. We are told that when the blacksmith was about to rivet the shackles upon his leg the martyr stooped to kiss them, and the smith inhumanly struck him with them upon the head, drawing blood. Pounde mildly retorted : " Would that blood might here flow from the inmost veins of my heart for the cause for which I suffer." This heroic patience earned for the blacksmith the grace of conversion ; and from a cruel assailant he became a Catholic, and died himself eventually in prison for the Catholic Faith.

Thus our martyr passed from suffering to suffering, from prison to prison, from virtue to virtue, till, having accomplished the work of an Apostle, and having drunk of the Chalice of Christ's Passion to the dregs, he died, not indeed in prison, but a ripe fruit of the Cross.

Now to the lists. We read that on the 27th July, 1582, there was a Bernard Bilson in the Marshalsea, and we are told that " before his imprisonment which hath been this twenty years, he was parson of Havant and Ringsworthy in the County of Southampton and Prebendary Residenciary of Salisbury."

I looked up the list of prisoners in the Marshalsea for the following year ; his name was not mentioned. As he is said to be a prisoner for his " disobedience in religion," and is enumerated with Catholics, we may be permitted to conclude that in all probability he was a Catholic, most likely a convert, and like many another, having languished in gaol for years, at last received the crown of his endurance in a happy death.

On the same list at Loseley we have these names : Robert Beckett, Esq., who was in the Marshalsea already for three years and was still there according to the Record Office List in the following year (1583) ; his wife Margaret was with him, enduring the same punishment ; Richard Shelley, Esq., of Sussex, was there since the 30th of August, 1580, and still there in 1583 ; Jarvis Parpointe of Grays Inn in the County of Middlesex, gent., was not mentioned in the following year ; Peter Carey, a Devonshire gentleman, was already in prison for four years, having come to the Marshalsea on the 15th October, 1578, his name now disappears from the lists ; Theobald Grene of Lincoln's Inn, also came to the Marshalsea four years previously and was still there in 1583 ; Walter Blount, gent., the County of Leicester, has been there two years and his name figures again in the following ; Edward Moore, gent. was sent to the Marshalsea on the 2nd of August, 1581 (?) ; he is mentioned again in 1583 ; John Graye, sent in January, 1577, gent., has been imprisoned for five years, he is still on next year's list (1583) William Philippes of Cornwall, sent to the Marshalsea on the 7th November, 1578, was still there in 1581, and still in the same prison in 1583 ; Richard Webster, gent., of the County of Norfolk, appearing on the list in 1583, has been in gaol for ten years, having been sent on the 25th March, 1573.

Now let us see what we know of the priests whose names are mentioned in the list. First, let us take the list which I have just quoted. Edward Jackson was still in prison on January 20th, 1593, having been in the Marshalsea since the 27th of July, 1582. (Dom. Eliz., Vol. 32, No. 64.)

William Walker, of Athennan in the County of Norfolk, priest, was delivered from prison with others for money upon bond from the South Blockhouse at Hull in the year 1595 on the 22nd of January (Rec. Jes., Vol. III., p. 766). He was thus incarcerated for over thirteen years.

William Renton, of Galton, priest, was banished from prison about 1585 (Rec. Jes., Vol. III., p. 45.)

William Hartley, of St. John's College, Oxford, priest, was shipped off at the Tower wharf on the 21st January, 1585, having been in prison some three years, and carried towards France, " and banished the realm for ever." Together with him were twenty of her priests, seventy having been banished that year.

Hartley, Robert Nutter and William Dean, priests, were afterwards executed (Rec. Jes., Vol. II., p. 105.) Hartley's name is mentioned in several lists. He is said to have been " at first exiled from prison and then returning again to England was martyred in 1588 " (Rec. Jes., Vol. IV., p. 516).

Richard Norris, priest, was banished with Hartley as above on January 1st, 1585. He had been sent to England in 1581, together with twenty-one other priests, of whom three were martyrs: Father Alexander Bryant being one of them. Norris died in Portugal.

William Bishop, of Braytes in the County of Warwick, priest, was sent into England from Rome in September, 1581. Before starting he took leave of Pope Gregory XIIIth, receiving his blessing. He was not long in his Mother country ere the pursuivants tracked him, he was captured, and the following year, exiled. But, burning with zeal for his Master's work, he returned that same year into England, in the company of thirty other priests, of whom eight were afterwards martyred. He laboured unceasingly for three years, when again he was captured, and again he was banished. He was the son of John Bishop, of an ancient family, born at Braytes in Warwickshire. Although a Catholic, he had been sent to Oxford in 1570, and took the D.D. at Paris later. He was a man of great promise and had worked with remarkable zeal for many years. On June 4th, 1623, he was consecrated Bishop of Chalcedon, for England, and once more returned to the land of his birth, and his labours on the 31st of July of the same year. He was the first Catholic Bishop in England since the days of Mary. However, he appears to have been worn out already; he lived in London in great retirement on account of the government, and died at Bishop's Court, near London, on April 16th of the following year. (Rec. Jes., Vol. VI., p. 137).

There are three more names of priests on this Marshalsea list for July 27th, 1582: John Nash, T. Smale and Thomas Crowder. Smale was of Poughill in the County of Cornwall, and had been committed on the 27th April, 1582; Thomas Crowder came from Ludlow in the County of Shropshire, and he was committed on the 22nd March, 1581. He was still in the Marshalsea on the 22nd March, 1583 (Dom. Eliz., Vol. 169, No. 36).

Another list at Loseley, dated from the Marshalsea the seventh day of March, 1585, gives the names of twelve priests, five of whom I have been unable to trace in any lists or records elsewhere. They are: John Lyster, James Edwards, Edmond Caverley, Ralf Pawmer, and John Smyth. The others are:—Francis Tillisone who was sent into England, with seventeen other priests, in 1585, and seems to have been captured almost immediately and sent to Wisbeach prison. Robert Wilcox appears in the Catalogue of Martyrs in the 5th Douay Diary.

John Bottone was sent into England in 1585, with seventeen others, of whom six were afterwards martyred. He was very soon caught and sent to Wisbeach, where he was confined in chains. He had been trained at the English College in Rome. In a list at the Record Office his name occurs amongst those of seventeen other priests incarcerated in the Marshalsea, and elsewhere he is said to be "mete for banishment."

Thomas Habarley: this name appears in the third Douay Diary under the following entry: "On April 24th there arrived nine priests from the prison at Framingham, who had been sent into exile, with a certain Irish Bishop and four Fathers of the Society of Jesus, also six other priests and four Catholic laymen. The names of those who came to us and are remaining with us are these:—Mr. Lewis Barlow (who was the first priest to be sent from the Seminaries on the English Mission), Mr. Edward Hughes, Mr. Christopher Dryland, Mr. Leonard Hyde, Mr. Robert Woodruffe, Mr. William Chadock, Mr. Thomas Habberley, Mr. William Clargenett, Mr. Thomas Thursby, to whom must be added Mr. Francis Robinson, who had arrived a few days before, and was received by us, being driven into the self-same exile although by another way. The names of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, at this time banished into exile, are:—Father Christopher Hollowood, an Irishman, Father Roger Floyd, Father Edward Coffin, and Father Ralph Bickley, with whom is associated Brother Ralph Emersam, the little man of whom Father Campion writes. The other priests who betook themselves elsewhere are these:—Mr. Thomas Brampton, Mr. John Bolton, Mr. Tilletson, Mr. John Green, Mr. Robert Barr, Mr. —. Knight. The others were laymen, John Birkbeck, Henry Keen, . . ."

This entry was made in 1603, hence we may conclude that most probably the priests John Bolton, Nicholas Knight, Francis Tilletson, Thomas Habberley, William Clargenett, whose names appear in the Marshalsea list for 1585 had been in prison for eighteen years, when they were banished thus ignominiously.

According to another entry in the third Douay Diary, Thomas Habberley left for Valenciennes on August 2nd, 1603, "uncertain as to whether he may also have to go to Brusseles and Antwerp to seek a living. He is also offered a chaplaincy at Antwerp in the Béguinage, where he could say Mass daily."

John Harrison was of a respectable family. Arriving at Rheims from Paris, July 27th, 1583, he proceeded as a pilgrim to Rome on August 13th following, and returned to Rheims on the 18th April, 1584. He was ordained at Rheims, April 5th, 1585, and sent upon the English Mission, October 19th following. He is stated in Law's Calendar of the English Martyrs, page 40, to have died in prison in the year 1585. The following entry in "Troubles," series III., Chapter V., page 16, refers to him: "Upon Monday in Easter week, the house of Mr. Heathe at Cumberford (in the North) searched by Thornes and Cawdwell, and Mr. Harrison, a priest, there apprehended. They so cruelly used Mrs. Heathe at that time, tossing and tumbling her, that she, thereby frightened, died the Friday following."

Finally there appear the names of William Parrey, priest, alias Morgan, who was in the Clink on the 7th March, 1585, and still there in 1587 (Dom. Eliz., Vol. 199, No. 15).

John Robinson, also in the Clink on the 7th March, 1585, was still there in 1588, as a fellow-prisoner of Father Edward James and Father Waye.

In the same list of prisoners in the Clink for 1585 are the names of John Adams and Paul Spence, both priests.

History has a wonderful way of drawing a veil over the horrors of past ages. The protracted agonies of years of incarceration under the most cruel conditions are very easily forgotten by those who live in comfort, unmolested by pursuivants and a mosquito multitude of persecutors. But visits to quiet Muniment Rooms and the unrolling of seared parchments and blurred papers reveal stories that should never be forgotten. Short but replete with terrible significance are many of the stray papers that flutter from the fingers as we dip into the bundles promiscuously tied up and thrown into a file.

Take for instance the following slip of worn document from the Record Office (Dom. Eliz. 230, No. 57).

> "Remembrance for these Warrants to be made forthwith for Mr. Topcliffe.
>
> "Granted at the Council Table.
>
> "A Warrant to the Master and Keeper of Bridewell to receive and keep as close prisoners Christopher Bayles, alias Evers, a Seminary priest, John Bayles, his brother a tailor, Henry Goorney Haberdasher, Anthony Kaye and John Coxed yeoman. And no person to resort to any of them but Mr. Richard Topcliffe and Mr. Richard Young, who is appointed to examine them,

and to proceed further with them according to the directions given them by the Lords

" Directed to the Master and Keeper of Bridewell.

" Another Warrant for their Lordships to Richard Topcliffe and Richard Young Esquires to examine the said persons Christopher Bayles alias Evers a Seminary priest, John Bayles tailor, Henry Goorney, Anthony Kaye and John Coxed from time to time, and if they see further occasion to commit them or any of them unto such torture upon the wawle as is usual for the better understanding of the truth of matters against her Majesty and the State, etc. Directed to Richard Topcliffe and Richard Young Esquires.

Indorsed. " Remembrance for Richard Topcliffe."

This document was dated 1590. Walsingham was then on his death-bed ; he died April 6th, of that year, and a subordinate persecutor, Richard Topcliffe, was rising to eminence. For six years he used the most barbarous methods against Catholics, and now his ingenuity as a torturer was to receive full scope.

The selection of Bridewell as a place of torture was new. Ten years before torture seems only to have been inflicted in the Tower. Bridewell was a place of detention for rogues and the commonest criminals ; it was therefore thought an excellent place for casting opprobrium on the Catholic name. Here Catholics were tortured " upon the wawle," that is, hung up by the hands. Bayles was for nearly twenty-four hours in this agony.

From a Manuscript perserved at Stonyhurst (Anglia VII. No 13—in Dr. Richard Barrett's Catalogue of Martyrs) we get the following account :—" At the beginning of this Lent there was put to death the Rev. Christopher Bales, under pretext of justice and by way of trial because, after being made priest by the authority of the Pope, he had come into England against the laws, and for this he was condemned. He had been tortured and hung off the ground by the hands for little less than twenty-four hours, in order to make him confess where he had said Mass, and who had kept him. But he stood firm . . . and answered with a constancy and prudence which edified the Catholics and made the heretics wonder. His piety and faith were especially conspicuous at his death. He was asked by the judge according to custom . . . when judgment was about to be pronounced, if he had anything to say for himself. He answered, ' This only do I want to know, whether St. Augustine, sent hither by St. Gregory, was a traitor or not.' They answered that he was not. . . . He answered them, 'Why then, do you condemn me to death as a traitor. I am sent hither by the same See, and for the same purpose as he was. Nothing is charged against me that could not also be charged against the saint.' But for all that they condemned him, and with him a citizen of London called Horner, for having given aid and support to priests."

A full description of the martyrdom of Father Bayles is contained in a most touching letter from Father Robert Southwell, himself also a martyr for the faith at a later date.

The document which is preserved in the Public Record Office, is in Latin. I here give the translation :—

"Jesu + Maria.

"From the letters of Fr. Robert Southwell, S.J., given at London March 8th, 1590.

"We have sent many letters to you, but as I have recently heard, few of these have reached you on account of some wicked fraud of which you have heard from Father William. As yet we languish in the midst of dangers and we are even now in imminent peril, although for the moment thanks be to God, we are untouched. We have all sworn with one great longing in the renewal of our ancient fealty to be faithful unto the end; and for several days we have encouraged each other by mutual exhortations and pious colloquies, we have opened our mouths and breathed in hope. It seemed to me that I might contemplate the birthplace of the Catholic religion hidden away in England where we weeping passed along sowing the seed, so that others coming, might come carrying their sheaves. We have sung, nevertheless, the Canticle of the Lord in a strange land, and in this desert place we have sucked honey from stone, oil from the hard rock. Great joys and deep sorrows succeed each other with startling contrast and no sooner have impending terrors been dispersed as smoke than we experience a sense of relief having suffered less than the danger threatened. I and one other of our companions while we avoid Scylla, we fall into Charybdis; however, having escaped both dangers through the wonderful goodness of God, we are now securely steering our course into port. Lately, beside others, has been seized a certain Priest Christopher Bales from the County of Durham, who had first been in Rome and then an alumnus of the College of Rheims. He was horribly tortured for the space of twenty-four hours, hanging by the hands, his toes scarcely touching the ground. While in this agony they wearied him with incessant questioning.

To all this he gave but one answer: He was a Catholic Priest, having come to recall souls into the fold of Christ, and he had never entertained in his heart any other design. From Bridewell, a prison set apart for prostitutes and rogues, now the place of torture for Catholics, he was taken to another prison. There he was placed in a cell with a Puritan heretic. Shortly after he was summoned thence to the tribunal and condemned to death, his cause being that he was a Priest, having been ordained by the Pontifical authority and come into England. They asked him whether the Pope might depose the Queen. To this he answered: That the Pope had power to depose Princes for just causes. As they were about to pronounce sentence, they asked him, as was usual, whether he had anything to say which might save him from death: 'One thing,' he said, 'I would ask you: Was Blessed Augustine, who had been sent by Gregory the Great into England, a traitor and guilty of lesae majestatis, or not?' 'He was not,' they answered. 'Why, then,' he replied, 'do you assert I am guilty of this crime because I have been sent by that same See hither for the same object, and that you are unable to accuse me of anything that you could not also allege against Augustine?' For only reply to this they cried, 'Away with him; crucify him.'"

"As he was being drawn in the customary way on a wooden hurdle to the place of execution, he chanted the Psalms. When he had ascended the scaffold he said: 'Far be it from me to glory, except in the Cross of Our Lord Jesus Christ.' And, lifting up his hands to heaven he signed himself with the sign of the Cross as well as the weight of his chains would allow. 'You have come,' he said, 'to see a man die, a common spectacle, not less common because that man is a Priest; and as you gaze upon the body, would to God that your glance might penetrate deep down into the affections of my heart. Then you might see what is the lot of that soul which is about to take its flight hence. You would then both sympathise and rejoice with me, as even now with unfriendly cry you send me to my doom. From my heart I forgive all and from you all I beg forgiveness.'

"Then asking that all Catholics might pray for him (he knew that the suffrages of heretics availed him nothing, and this he said) he gave himself up and shortly after, with a firm countenance and stout heart, he suffered death with great fortitude and constancy. He died on Ash Wednesday, in a certain square in London which was very frequented; his courage and piety earned the praises even of the heretics.

"The executioner, however, his hands still gory with the butchery of this holy confessor, hurried to another square to execute like cruel justice on another victim, a layman and a man of great virtue. He had been condemned to death because he had given shelter to priests and had helped them with his money. Before his death, while in a fetid and dark dungeon, having lighted a candle, he saw as it were silhouetted upon the wall his figure, and, on the shadow of his head, a crown; placing his hand up to his head and walking about from end to end of his cell, he wished to test whether this was but a delusion, owing to the position of the body. But as he walked, the crown followed him and remained with him when he stood still, and thus for a whole hour the crown showed itself fixed to his head as a diadem, a pledge of future glory. Our hero related this circumstance himself to a certain pious woman a short time before his martyrdom.

"The name of the man was Horner; and he gained the palm of a distinguished victory with no less constancy than that which had been shown by Father Bayles; for like spring showers, his blood was, to the field of the Church, a fertilising power that she might germinate with joy in the moisture of heavenly dew. We also as labourers await the advent of our day (unless perchance we should be unworthy of so great an honour). Meanwhile we ask for the prayers of your Lordship and of all the others. We pray most fervently that the Father of lights may render to us the joy of His salvation and may strengthen us with the might of His power.

"March 8th A.D. 1590.

"Your Lordship's disciple
"ROBERT SOUTHWELL."

(Dom. Eliz., Vol . 230, No. 104. Appendix, p. 437.)

Fr. John Gerard, in his "Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot," says about Father Robert Southwell:

"His value and high merit before God was much to be seen, in that he was delivered over by God's ordinance to encounter hand to hand the cruelest tyrant of all England, Topcliffe, a man most infamous and hateful to all the realm for his bloody and butchery mind; and this man had Father Southwell many weeks together in his house alone to use him at his pleasure, when he kept him in his boots as he was taken, with bolts of iron upon his arms, and in a chamber without any bed or straw to lie upon, where he was to turn himself upon his side, and lie upon the floor like a dog when he list to sleep, as full of lice as he might hold. There also he put him nine times most cruelly upon the torture, which Father Southwell at his arraignment professed was more grievous to him than nine deaths could or would have been" (p. 18).

Father Foley quotes Fr. Tanner to this effect:

"Topcliffe took him (Fr. Southwell) to his own house, and then privately subjected him ten times to tortures so atrocious that at his trial he called God to witness that he would rather have endured so many deaths. The particulars were never actually known, save that he was hung from the wall by his hands, with a sharp circle of iron round each wrist pressing on the artery, his legs bent backwards and his heels tied to his thighs (so that he might get no rest from his toes touching the grounds). But even thus, Topcliffe could not make him answer a single question. Among other things, they strove to extort from the sufferer whether he was a Jesuit. Was he an agent for the King of Spain or for the Sovereign Pontiff? To overcome his firmness, he on one occasion left him thus suspended while he went to the city on business. Father Southwell spent seven hours in this agony, and appeared to be dying. Topcliffe was sent for, and had him gently taken down and sprinkled with some distilled waters till he revived; after vomiting a large quantity of blood, he was immediately hung up again in the same position. For the Lords of the Council had permitted Topcliffe to torture Father Robert to any extent short of death" (Vol. I., p. 357).

EPILOGUE

DESOLATION

WHAT was the result of all this revolution on the part of England against the old religion? Was God more honoured than in old Catholic days; was reverence deepened, was charity strengthened, was learning in Divine things extended? There can be no possible difficulty in answering these questions.

Torn up by the very roots, defiled, trampled under foot, the old religion became in the minds of Englishmen an object of hatred and a symbol of infamy so great that anything that savoured of Rome and Catholicism was pitch to the touch and the very sink of iniquity. It was one thing to pull down and another thing to build up. It was easy to cast into the fire the learned tomes of theologians, but not so easy to substitute for them a new learning that would command the respect of a new generation. The result was very soon manifest. Although men and women and children might be driven like cattle into the bare barns that were erected by Protestantism for the defaming of God's Vicar and His Holy Church, they could not so easily be driven to pray. Thus religion in its truest sense faded rapidly from the land; reverence for Divine things waned; bitterness in controversy, sects and dissentions increased daily and confusion became ever more confounded. No wonder the Minister of the Reformed religion failed to gain the respect which a man of high calling should command. He was so often a mere time-server, a hireling, a man of few attainments and no theological learning. The homilies ready made, provided him with easy tools whereby he might lull his hearers to their Sunday repose; and his prolonged dronings on interminable readings from the Old Testament filled up the time that was to be devoted to the service of God. For the rest, as we have seen in the course of this work, these Ministers devoted their energies and their zeal to tracking down and persecuting the devoted adherents of the old religion. Not infrequently they were found near the gallows where the Martyrs won their crown adding to the suffering of those heroes by their vulgar taunts and abusive language. The writings of Protestants themselves testify to the disreputable bearing of these their own ministers.

From Loseley we hear a cry not unmixed with bitterness and even contempt for the type which was so common in those days. Sir James More Molyneux brings us to the middle of the eighteenth century. The type had not very greatly improved; and Sir James, a member of Parliament for Haslemere, thought the subject important enough for a satire in verse. The victim of his wit was Parson Gun. Although not much of a scholar, he was a schoolmaster, and therefore we may suppose with attainments a little above the average. I will give the song in full:

"To calm the furious transports of thy Zeal:
To turn that ardour to the public weal,
These lines, Good Parson, Gun, I frankly send:
Take them as counsels from a real friend.
Truth, let me say, of friendship is the test,
And friends, that speak most plain, are sure the best.
Pitying thy zeal, the honest Muse forbears
To rail in public at those frantic airs,
That canting, puritanic, wayward show,
Of Hell's fierce fires, and all such fabled woe
Which blast thy preaching, and pollute our Fane
Which mark thee, Bigot, Gun, of lowest strain.
If pity for thy lost distempered state,
Filled not my Muse, instead of deadly hate,
I'd search thy heart and sound aloud thy string,
Which to thy Manner gives the secret spring.
  Thus to thyself . . . Both vanity and guile
Are the true motives of thy ranting style.
Vain and conceited with a ready speech,
Thou wil't not condescend from *Book to preach.*
But, like some bawling Quack, must rave aloud
Thy unconnected stuff, to *catch the crowd.*
Amidst thy gestures, and grimace we've spy'd
No humble Pastor, but the flaming Pride
Of self-conceited Preaching—whose first aim
Points at applause, and begs an empty name.
  How truly provident, with how great skill
Thou bend'st thy tender Pupils to thy will
Turn'st them from youthful Innocence and Play
To whine, and sermonise the live-long day,
Lank in their locks, demure in face,
They're stampt full early of the Gunite Race.
Before they're men, they ape the part of Saint,

And quote—not classic lines, but text*es* quaint,
Thus dost thou fix, thro' superstitious fears,
A lurking interest in their rip'ning years. . . .
When Sabbath Duty, in the way of trade,
From Town to Town calls forth thy Curate-aid;
Why tempt abroad the simple wife to roam?
Can't she much better take her Church at Home?
Would not her baking cares, sweet, pious Dame
Turn more to profit, honesty and Fame?
Alas! Sly Priest, the roving motives known;
She mounts, Poor Soul, behind from Town to Town
Her arms around a circling Purchase made,
She clasps the Pommel or—*some near mistake,*
Which so erects the little Parson's Pride,
That Preaching, Pray'rs, and Gods are laid aside.
Some Shady Thicket hides the doubted Beast;
While Priest and Priestess make a carnal Feast. . . .
Hence we may see—Why works and goodly deeds
In Gospel Cant are term'd Religion's weeds.
Hence we may see—how artfully imprest
Is all that *Rant of Faith* and mystic Zest,
Which bears the Burden of thy frantic stile. . . .
That virtue fast asleep be lull'd the while . . .
To start inspir'd, to congregate and whine
Of hypocrisy is the surest sign.
And art thou not in gesture, words, and way,
An arrant Quack, Imposture of the Day.
Go! mount a Tub then; rave in open air!
Thy poor deluded Flock may join thee there
But never more defile our holy Fanes
With the Dileria of thy turbid Brains.
Still would the Muse, commiserating, send
The wholesome Counsels of an honest Friend,
Beg thee to curb thy wrong, impetuous mind,
That we some reason in thy doctrine find.
That e'en when starting from the Pulpit's height
Frantic with Zeal, and wrapt in dubious light
Some rays of moral virtue, calmly *shown,*
May teach thy hearers how to shape their own.
With *Faith* let *Works* go mildly hand in hand,
On *Faith* alone to preach, corrupts the land.
Each vicious hypocrite adopts thine air:
One sins in flesh; another sins in prayer.

Take then this Counsel—write thy sermons o'er
And let consistence shine in Gospel lore;
Nor hurry o'er as trash those pious pray'rs,
The Church has deem'd most worthy of thy Cares.
This may'st thou teach in mild and manly sense,
That works well done will meet their recompense.

Fare well J M M."

(Bundle 1085 XVIII.)

Is it uncharitable of us to condemn those ministers of Neo-Anglicanism when their own worthy flock have spoken with such contempt? This Parson Gun was more zealous in preaching than most of his brethren; and even he had failed to command the respect of Churchmen.

A retrospect over the years that have passed from the famous break of Henry VIII. up to modern times will make us realise the truth and justice of the title of this chapter: Desolation.

It was first desolation in the material church and cloister. Grass grew under the groined roofs and ivy climbed within the sanctuary walls; the consecrated altar-stones were torn from the altars and often placed at the entrance in the pavement for all who entered to trample the anointed crosses under foot; beautiful roods, works of art, the products of a faith-loving people, were torn from their lofts and hurled into bonfires kindled in the public squares; frescoes were whitewashed or hacked beyond recognition, for the very hatred that filled the iconoclastic soul of the age; precious vestments were unstitched and made into skirts for the parson's wives; even the sacred vessels were defiled for the common use and ornament of the dinner-table. No one can visit the old country churches of England without being struck by the signs of vandalism that meet him at every corner.

At Loseley there is a document which tells a tale of old and new, things past and things to come, faith of centuries and rebellion that swept it all away. The document consists only of parochial accounts; but I put it in here and not in the appendix because of its very exceptional interest. The date of the accounts extends from 1545 to 1552. It was precisely in 1552 that all Chantries were suppressed throughout England. In examining these accounts our memory recalls bright pictures of Catholic Liturgy: the merry bells of Our Lord's Nativity still ringing joyously for the Midnight Mass "in the thirty-seventh year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord King Henry VIII."; the silent watchers of the Sepulchre on Maundy

Thursday; the mournful clapping after the silencing of bells and organ in Holy Week; the glorious re-awakening of liturgical splendour with the Exultet that proclaims the Paschal celebration; and the processions of acolytes in cassock and surplice with lighted torches accompanying the most Holy Eucharist like prudent virgins going forth to meet the Bridegroom. As we continue our perusal of the details given by the Churchwardens we can see also the destruction that is taking place. The rood loft has no sooner been set up than it is defaced, labourers are sent in and paid to pull down the rood; the altars are plucked and the walls are plastered. What has become of all those vestments, the cope of blue silk with white flowers, the vestment of blue damask, the vestment of red velvet with yellow cross, the banners, the super-altaries, the curtains to hang before the altars, the pyxes? We need scarcely enquire.

> "Parochial Accounts from the Papers of Sir Thomas Cawarden—Parish Church of Blechingly, A.D. 1552.
>
> "*Bletchingly*, 1546-1552.
>
> "The Account of John Dowber and Christopher Chapman, Churchwardens of the parish Church of Bleachingleigh, from the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, in the year of our Lord 1546, unto the feast of Saint Michael the Archangel in the year of Our Lord 1552 as followeth.

"RECEIPTS.

First, the said Churchwardens charge themselves of 55 shillings, as so much money by them received of Richard Chomley, to the behalf and use of the said Church	55/
Item Received more of Thomas Rower	5£, 10d.
Item Rd. more for the burial of the lady Putnam	6/8
Item, Rd. more of the Hognell [" Probably Nea Knell, corrupted into Hognell, being money collected for ringing the church bells at this time of the year, in celebration of the high feast of the Nativity of our Lord"—Kemp, p. 163, note.] money at the feast of the Nativity of our Lord, in the 37th year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord King Hen. VIII,	23s. 6d.
Item Rd. more of Mr. Sackvyle for 3 years rent of a parcel of land called bell crests	3s.
Item Rd. more one year for paschal money	2 2 ob

	£	s.	d.
Item Rd. more an other year for paschal money	4	7	ob
Item the said Accountants charge themselves with £27, 16. 10 received of one Cook goldsmith as so much money by them received by the hands of Mr. Cawerden for broken plate which was sold for the repairing and garnishing the Church by the consent of the parishioners of the same. The expenses and charges appear hereafter particularly.	27	16	5
Item they charge themselves with 272 pounds of broken latten sold to a Candlestick maker at 20/ a hundreth amounting to £0.54,2 ob as so much money by them Received. by the hands of Mr. Cawarden and employed to the same use by the parishioners consent.	52	2	ob

Sum total of the Receipts
£42 . 18 . 8.

	£	s.	d.
1. Item received more for wax sold by the said Churchwardens Roger Foster being present	0	20	4
Item received for the burial of Turner's wife	0	6	8
Item received more of William Martin for 3 years' rent of Church lands	0	24	0

Payments of the same Churchwardens since the year within written.

	£	s.	d.
2. First paid by the said accountants for 28 lbs. of wax		13	4
Item paid to the plummer for mending of the leads there		14	4
Item paid to Christopher Chapman for serving of the plummer 2 days			12
Item for making of the Church wax		2	2
Item to Brande for wood for the plummer			5
Item For setting up the rood loft			10
Item for nails for the same			2
3. Item for coals			4
Item to Brande for watching the sepulchre			8
Item for storing of candlesticks			10

	£	s.	d.
Item for sweeping of the leaves and sunning of the ornaments			4
Item, for tallow for the bells, and making clean of the tables [Kemp queries whether this means pictures] of the Rood loft, and for small nails			6
4. Item to John Bridgehill and Robert White for mending the windows in the steaple & and going to London for the Church stuff at the Black Friars		2	6
Item for a bell rope			14
Item spent at the visitation at Leatherhead			8
Item to Thomas shorter for mending 2 Bawderiks			5
Item for half a hide of White leather			15
Item for a shovel and a spade			6
Item for a wombe of leather			3
Item, to Thomas Porter, for ending 6 bawderiks			5
Item, to Robert Eyton, for mending of the seats			15
Item, for grease for the bells against Hallowtide			3
sums paid 23/6			
Item, paid for new collaring of a surplis			2
Item, for mending five albes			3
Item, for mending of a clapper			4
Item, for 28 lbs of wax		14	
Item, for making of the Same to Thomas Shorter		2	2
Item, for making 2 tapers			2
Item for 2 torches		8	6
Item, for lime		6	
Item, to Mr. Herves, for manding the organ		2	3
,, For washing of the Church Clothes		2	
5. ,, for stowing of all the church stuff		2	
,, for mending of a bawderick			2
,, for painting of the paschal post			6
,, For coals			3
6. ,, for a box			3
Item, for making of a Surplice			6
,, To Brande, for watching the Sepulchre			8
7. ,, to Robert Wright for making a desk			5
,, for hammering a thrid bell			2
,, to Brand for going to Reigate at Whitsontide			4
,, to John Dawber, Xtopher Chapman, Richard Chomley, John Turnor and Richard Smith going to the visitation at Croydon, expenses		2	6

	£	s.	d.
Item paid the same time from coming out from the chancellor for the archdeacon			2
,, for 100 sixpenny nails			6
,, for 4			
,, To Walter Grome, painter, for painting the whole body of the Church, and for all manner of colours to the same	17	5	1
,, To William Johns, for painting the quire, the Rood Loft, the King's Arms, and the out aisle joining to the quire, And for the colour and stuff otherwise appertaining	7	15	2
Etc.			
For a table for the communion to be ministered upon, joined upon a frame	0	8	
For 3 long forms to the same	0	10	
For 4 seats with double desks, for the singing men to sit in and to lay their books on	0	20	
Item, for plucking the altars, plastering the walls, and mending of divers places	0	7	
Item, to labourers for pulling down the rood			14
Item, the expenses of John Dawber and Christopher Chapman, Churchwardens, John Turnor, Thomas Lambe, sidesmen, being at the visitation at Ewell	0	2	
Item, for the writing of a bill to be showed to the King's Commissioners			8
Item, the expenses of Christopher Chapman and John Dawber, Churchwardens, Richard Chomley, John Turnor, and Thomas Lambe, being at Ryegate before the Commissioners when they required of the parishioners an Inventory of the Church goods		6	6
Item, delievered a bill to the visiters of lands for horse meat and man's meat	0	0	15
Item, to John Brande, for watching of the sepulchre	0	0	4
Item, for a pound of soap ob	0	0	1
2 bushells of lime	0	0	5
John Tooke, for mending of a hole over the vestry	0	0	2
John Brand, for watching of the vestry	0	0	2

	£	s.	d.
Edward Kyllike, casting of a bank, safe guard to the Church pale	0	0	2
To John Matthew, for keeping of the clock by Thomas Lambe	0	0	9
Etc. . . .			

"At the end of the accounts is the following balance of accounts:

Summa totales	Summa totalis
denariorum receptor-£42,17,8.	Solutionam ut per £45,8,5 ob
um ut antea patet.	Pticules plenissime
	Apparet.

And so

"All things reconed and accounted allowed, paid and discharged the Church and the parish is and standeth indebted unto the Church Wardens' for money by them laid out, more than yet received as by this book of accounts may and doth manifestly appear the sum of £0.50. 09 ob

"Accounts of the Church Ornaments, etc., chiefly of the Catholic times, belonging to the Church of Bermondsey, rendered to Sir Thomas Cawarden and other Commissioners of the King, appointed to receive the same for the Hundred of Brixton."

"The Parish of Mary Magdalen in Bermondsey.

"This is the Inventory indented and made of all the plate, jewels, ornaments, and bells, within the parish church of Mary Magdalen of Bermondsey, in the county of Surrey, made between Sir Thomas Cawarden, knight, John Scot, Nicholas Lee, Esquires, Commissioners, by the King's majesty's commission appointed within the hundred of Brixton, in the said County, of the one party, and John Felpot and Richard Wells, parishioners of the said parish, of the other party, made the 18th day of October, in the 6th year of the reign of our sovereign lord King Edward the sixth.

"First, one chalice, all gilt weighing 15 ounces and a quarter.
Item, 2 other chalices parcel gilt, weighing 24 ounces and a half.
Item, 2 communion cups parcel guilt, weighing 33 ounces.
,, 2 Copes of white damask with flowers of gold.
,, 2 copes of blue damask.
,, One coge of blue silk with white flowers.

Item, A vestment of blue damask, with all things belonging to the same.
,, A vestment of read velvet with a yellow cross.
,, An old vestment of white with a blue cross.
,, A green vestnt. with a red cross and the crown and the star.
,, A vestnt. of red bryggs satin with a green cross, and St. James in the back.
,, A vnt. of red and white velvet with a blue cross.
,, A vt. of white bryggs satin with a red ramask cross.
,, A vt. of Black damask with thorns.
,, A vt. of sada taffata tawny with the garter.
,, A vt. of blue silk with a red cross of velvet.
,, A vestment of white bustean [fustean ?] for lent.
,, 3 deacon's of silk, one of blue, another of green, and the other of horseflesh colour.
,, 2 Altar clothes, one of red and blue damask.
,, 7 Corperas cases [Kemp thinks these are covers for the Host].
,, 2 stremers of silk, one of blue, the other of red.
,, 2 bannere cloths of silk for the cross, one of green, the other of red.
,, 2 old curtains of silk, and a vallens of dornec with a fringe.
,, A painted streamer and three painted banners.
,, 3 long towels of dyaper.
,, 5 small towels of dyaper.
,, 8 altar cloths of dyaper.
,, 5 hand towels of dyaper.
,, 9 plain altar cloths.
,, 3 plain hand towels.
,, 10 Surplices, good and bad.
,, 2 Rochetts
,, 2 Superaltaries.
,, 2 Curtains to hang before the altars.
,, 2 herse clothes one of black velvet with gold, the others of white damask, with a cross of black velvet.
,, 3 little pillows.
,, 2 lattyn pyxes and 2 paxes of copper.
,, 2 pyx cloths of silk.
,, 2 standards of lattyn.
Item 2 pairs of candle sticks of lattyn.
,, A crysmatory, 2 cruets, and a little basin, all pewter.
,, A old vail that went over the quire for Lent.
,, A painted cloth to hang before the Rood in lent.
,, 3 hair cloths to lay on the altars.

Item, A Bible of the largest volume.
,, A book of the paraphrases.
,, 3 Communion books.
,, 6 Psalters and a book of homilies.
,, 4 banner staves, and a cross stave.
,, 2 presses and 3 old chests.
,, A pair of organs.
,, 3 bells and a sacring bell.

"By me JOHN CHARE.
By me JOHN CAVE."

(*Los. MS.*, Vol. 5, No. 68.)

There are multitudes of such Churchwardens' accounts up and down the country, all telling the same tale; accounts that revive impressions of the past with a vividness all their own. With these in our hands we might revisit the ruined cloisters or whitewashed village churches and recall once more the scenes of long ago: the Mass, the Vespers, the fragrant incense, the varying colours ever changing through festivals and seasons the long year round, the inspired canticles of the Roman Liturgy so well known and so heartily sung by men, women and children, the gorgeous processions of the Blessed Sacrament on the feast of Corpus Christi and the joy-giving celebrations during the month of May.

Let anyone who desired to realise what all this means to the fervent Catholic, visit, if he should ever have a favourable opportunity, those countries where the Catholic Church is still enshrined in the hearts of the people. Let him contemplate the Church's ritual with open and unbiassed mind: let him believe that all this external pomp and exultation is but the very natural expression of a fervour that burns within the human heart; let him accept as a starting point for his study of these religious customs that the soul is dependent for much of the fuel that should enkindle warmth of devotion upon the externals of religion.

Then, and then alone shall he be able to understand how it comes about that, with the gradual extinction and suffocating of all outward expression of joy and sorrow is bound to come the deadening of internal emotions until these are likewise extinguished altogether.

There is a very strange document at Loseley with which I would end this book. It is in Latin verse. Who was the writer and when exactly was it written, remains a mystery. It is probable that it was composed about the time of the religious wars in Germany during the reign of Charles I. It is an appeal to England; and it sounds a not unfamiliar note in these days. It is a song of sorrow and yet of hope, of horror and still of encouragement. I will give the translation without attempting to put my version into verse:

> "Wake up, England, buried as thou art in an unwholesome and deadly sleep; open once more thine eyes. Give ear to the roar that thunders from north to south, hark to the cackle of the bloody mob. Heaven, earth and sea are filled with horrible forebodings; and from an angry God death-dealing bolts now threaten thee. From pole to pole the menace sounds and a burden is laid upon thy shoulders, bearing thee down to the ground. Prisons, flames, treadmills, racks, cruel scourgings, stakes, faggots, gyves and heavy chains, crosses: these are thy yoke. Smoke shall ascend from Smithfield and the funeral pyre shall be laid, there is thirst there for the red dew of blood, the moisture of fertility. Howl now, O Lutherans and Calvinists, men of violence; weep, for the harvest is at hand. In madness you have cast aside the mild yoke of Peter, and now you must plough the black and turgid waters of the Styx.
>
> "O thou who art at this time called England, sing sad songs of woe!
>
> "And thou, who so often soundest thine own praises like a blaring trumpeter, shalt have cause for sighing and moaning thrice sadly repeated. Thy limbs are faggots tightly bound, and thou art fat fuel for the burning flame, votaries beloved of high Jupiter. O you bearded senators, born of the seed of deception, who have sung your joyful triumphs, tears are your lot for the future. Ye zealous hypocrites, gnawing the heel like the serpent of Eden, sleep out your restless and unsavoury sleep on the earthly couch which bears your lazy bones.
>
> "Weep on, O ye avaricious brood of the wretched Simon; vile scum that you are, you dare to accuse pious Rome! But if we may be permitted to know the worth of the tree from its fruits; then Sodom has been outdone, England has gained the palm of infamy. Ridiculous clergy, a crowd of mere boys minister in the sanctuary: behold they prize only the emoluments of priests. What man is there whose renown is not chronicled in charcoal? All England is blackened by infamy. The very religious sense itself has faded from the hearts of men and the sacred things of God have vanished. You are not worthy indeed to raise your eyes to heaven, to turn them towards the dawn of light, much less to look upon the rays of the dazzling sun. Spiritual life has languished to such a depth of mental folly, like the

freezing blast of winter all have withered, dogmas, maxims, writings of the Fathers. Nothing is left except that which savours of the stagnant pool wherein is heard the croaking of frogs; and your dissensions indeed are as the battles of frogs and mice. This one is covetous, that one snatches what is not his own; the temple is filled with buyers and sellers. With vain flattery the courtier tickles the ears of princes, and goes off laden with a thousand priestly spoils.

"However, hope shines on the horizon; since he who has altered a square into a circle shall yet once more become a man of four sides. The rotund Rabbi exhibits a square facies and bears the sacred symbols of the Roman Jupiter. I would willingly myself square them or even file their angles if there were any power in reason to do so. But what shall I say? There is no law for morals at Oxford; everything there like a confused whirlwind is falling into ruin. There is not even the appearance of a Church, nor priest nor shadow of the See of Rome remains.

"But you who are as the pious pillars of the Holy See, arise; that golden day is surely at hand. The noble Prince of Austria lifts his head on high; and from France come they that vie with other Catholic brethren to chant the glories of that great day. Our appealing hands go out to our brethren beyond the seas in Italy, in Spain, in Douay and Louvain.

"This is what fills with grievous fear those heretics; they scarcely dare rebuke our rising joy.

"Clap your hands O Catholics, you who guard the rights of Peter; clap your hands, the golden day is most certainly at hand. Silent waters run deep; be not deceived by the calm that comes before the storm. From the princes in the West the thunder-bolt may come. There will be no withstanding the power that shall hurl itself against you, certes not that malicious feather which trembles in your hands.

"In the meantime I pray you to sing the triumph of the deliverer whose name shall be for ever our watchword.

"Wake up, England, buried as thou art in an unwholesome and deadly sleep, open once more thine eyes."

(*Loseley Bundle*, 1329 (II.). *Miscellaneous Papers; also* Appendix, p. 423.)

These are very strong words and in their vigour and the evident asperity of their tone they give us the impression of an angry pen. Who can wonder? All were not saints in those dark and cruel days, and many there are even amongst my readers who would boil with indignation were such things done now that were the order of the day in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Thank God we live in peace with our neighbours, and in our country parishes we can meet the clergy of the Anglican communion on terms of friendship. Much of the asperity of controversy is softened by the knowledge that these men are sincere and zealous in the work which they perform according to the dictates of their conscience.

Hence, whatever I have written in the course of this work must not be understood to contain bitterness towards any living soul. I have tried to write history in the light of documents before me. These documents have spoken in no uncertain tone.

The last quoted manuscript, apart from the undoubted venom of its phraseology and the heat of its denunciations, might in a modified form find its way to the lips of many of the serious-minded of our own day, and we think that not Catholics alone will cry with fervent longing those telling words of the seventeenth century :

> " Wake up, England, buried as thou art in an unwholesome and deadly sleep, open once more thine eyes."

APPENDIX I

(*Loseley Bundle* 1380, " Recusancy.")

The names of such psons as were Indited for not resortynge to the church accordinge to the Statues

Anne Whitner of Wicham for two monethes
Jane Saunder of Ewell the wife of Erasmas Saunder of Ewell gent. For one moneth
FFrancis Browne of the pishe of St. Savyors in Southwark Esquire
Johane his wife
Henry Browne of the same esquire
Anne his wife for 11 monthes
The Ladie Mary Vauze of the same
George Bruster of the same gent
Elizabeth Turner of the same spinster
Mgaret Pkyns of the same spinster
FFrancis Browne
Johane his wife
Mary Courtneys of the same pishe spinster
Henry Browne of the same esquire
Anne his wife for 11 monthes
Anne Steward of the same spinster
George Bruster of the same gent
Elizabeth Turner of the same spinster
Mary Pkyns of the same spinster
Charles Arrundell of Sutton esquire for sixe monethes
Johane York of Richmond spinster for VII monethes
Jane Hornyall als Hornyfall als Furnyfall of Egham for one moneth

The names of such gentlemen and gentlewomen within the Countie of Southampton as doe refuse to come to the Churche.

Warblington	George Cotton esquier and his wife
	John White gent
	Mistris Bullaker
Buriton	Henry Shelley gent and his wife
	Stephen Vachell gnt and his wife
Southwod Haling	The wife of Thomas Henslo gent
Bedhampton	Anthony Cope gent

FFarlington	Thomas Poundes gent
	Henry Poundes gent
Southwick	Mr. Warnfords and his wife
Porchester	Doctor Titchbourne gent and his wife
	William Sutton gent
Eastmeon	Robert Joye gent
	Thomas Pershall gent
Westhworant	Raphe Henstoe (?) gent his wife and daughter
lleden	Anthony d dale gent
Windles tham	Edward Banister gent and his wife.
Fareham	John Ludlowe gent and his wife
St. Michaells in the Soke nere Winchester	Thomas white gent and his wife
	Mris Knight, widowe
	Mris Thomas wedowe
Calenderin Wints	Thomas Brabon gent and his wife
	Mr. Lampdon
	Mr. Dyer and his wife
St. Peters in Colbroke in Wints	Thomas Beconsaw gent and his wife
	Mr. Wey and his wife
	Mr. Bilsonne
Tywfords	Gilbert Wells esquier and his wife
	Mistris James in Mr. Wells howse
Gastonne	Mistris Hall wedowe
Itchstoke	Mr. Scrope and his wife
Titchbourne	Benjamin Titchorne gent and his wife
	Mistris Arnold (?) his Kinswoman
	Mistris Tichbourne, wedow
	Mr. Roper (?) and his wife
rghclaere	John Beconsuve (we ?) gent and his wife
Harthmawdet	Nicholas Titchbourne gent and his wife
Midleton att long pishe	The wife of Mr. Burley
Elfield	Thomas Owen and his wife
Southwarborow	The wife of Mr. Stephen White

(*Loseley. Vol.* 5, *No.* 20.)

A list of three names of prisoners in Clink for Religion, dated XIIth day of Marche 1581.

List. John Brodestocke of Queenehille in the County of Worcester yeoman sent by commandmt from the Rev. Father in God John Ld. B. of London and other her maj. high Commers the second day of May anno Dmi 1581.

Edward Shelleye of Worminghurste in the C. of Sussex gent sent by commt from the Rev. Fr. in God John Lord B. of Lon. and other her M. high Com. the Vth day of July Anno D. 1581.

Jane Goldwyere late Whalleye in the C. of Oxford Widow sent by comm. fm the R. F. in G. John B of L. and other h . . . the Vth day of Dec. A.D. 1580.

Vol. 5, *Loseley, No.* 40.

Surrey. The Names of all such psons as stand indicted before the Justices of the peace of this County of Surrey for not coming to Church and are therefore convicted by uttacy remayning of Record before the said Justices.

Not in the Shire
Jane Hornyall als Hornyfall als Furnyfall late ot Egham in the C. of Surrey Spinster.

her husband liveth ne Clerkenwell in London
Ann Whitney of Micham in the Co. of Surrey Spinster.

Jane Saunder of Ewell in the Co. of Su. Spinster (?) the wife of Erasmus Saunder of Ewell, gentleman.

at Hackney bi London
The Lady Mary Vauze of the psh. of St Saviours in the Burrough of Southwark in the C. of Surrey.

Eliz. Turnor of the same spinster.

Margaret Pkns of the same spinster.

Mary Courtney of the same spinster.

gone out of the Shire
Anne Steward of the same spinster.

Mary Perkyns of the same spinster.

Johane York of Richmond in the Co. of S. spinster

Mabel Sandes of Easthorsley in the C. of S. gentlewoman.

Thomas Blake of the ps. of St Saviours in Southw in the C. of S. Taylor.

Eliz. Fromons the wife of Will. From. of Cheham (Cheam) in C. of S. gent.

Catesbie of Lambeth in the Co. of Surrey gent.

The wife of Wm. Catesbie knight.

Jane Throgmorton of the same gent

her husband liveth
Jane Mollinax of Nutfielde in the C. of Surrey gent.

The Names of such as stand indicted for the same cause and not yet convicted

Francis Browne of the ps. of St Saviours in the Borough of Southw. in the C. of S. Esquire.

dead
Johane his wife.

his goods ceised and sold to her Majesties use	George Bruster of the same gent.
	Wm Catesbie of Lambeth in the Co. of Surrey knight.
	Thomas Crooke late of Lambeth in the Co. of S. gent.
	Robert Albury of Thursley in the Co. of Surrey, Smythe.
	Eliz. Bezaunte of the ps of St Sav. widow.
	Rise Flood of Woking in the Co. of Surrey yorman.
gone out of the Shire	Isabell Asheburneham of the ps of St Saviours in the Burrough of S. in the C. of S. spinster.
a beggar	Seth Goulston of Richmond in the Co. of Su. Tyler.
out of the shire	Garden of Lambeth in the C. of S. gent.
her husband liveth out of the shire.	Hellen Fromons of Chyham in the C. of Surrey, gent.
	Thomas Fromons - - - gent.
	Willm Philbey of Lee alias Ligh in the C. of S. gent
conformed	Bennitt Joye of Waverley in the County of Surrey, Esq.
out of the shire	Johane Pynner of Micham in the Co. of S. gent.
	Mary Pynner of the same gent.
her husband liveth	Johane Whitney of the same gent.
	Southcott of Westham in C. of S. gent.
	the wife of John Southcott the younger, gent.
out of the shire	John Garden of the ps of St Mary Magdalene in Bermondsey in the Co. of S. gent.
out of the shire	Allington of Micham in the Co. of S. widow.
	John Talbott of Micham gent.
a beggar	John Butt of Walton in the C. of S. yoman.
committed at Essex	Anthony Mason of Kewe in the C. of S. Esq.
	Wm. Lipscombe of Lambeth in the Co. of Surrey gent.
	Lipscombe of the same spinster his wife
he has conformed	Symon Towllye of Guildford in the C. of S. Inholder.
out of the shyre	Wm. Beda of Lambeth in the C. of S. yeoman.
	John Pker of Cobham in the C. of S. gent.
a beggar	Johane Bannester of Wyndlesham in the C. of S. spinster the wife of John Bannester of the same yeoman.

The Names of such as stand indited as before and are discharged by lrs from some of her M. most hon. privie Counsell. viz.

Charles Arrundell of Sutton in the C. of Surrey Esq
Katherin Cornewallys of Easthorsley in the C. of S. gent.
Robert Gage of Croydon in the C. of Su. gent.
Elizabeth Gage of Croydon in the C. of Su. gent.

The Names of those which are indited and have conformed themselves according to the Statute.

Henry Browne of the ps. of St. Saviours in the Bor. of South. in the C. of S. Esq.
Anne his wife.
Nicholas Walgrave of Mestham in the C. of S. gent.
Bartholomew Dawnse of Camberwell in the C. of S. gent.
Nicholas Larymer of Mycham in the Co. of S. yoman.

The Names of such as are in prison in the Marshalsea, Kyngs Bench, White Lion and Clink in Southwark.

Thom. Croylye of South. in Co. of Hants, esq.
Peter Tichborne of the same Esq.
Erasmus Wolsely of the same Esq.
John Beconshawe of the same gent.
Robert Jesopp of the same gent.
Richard Waldron of the same Lynnendrap.
Gregory of Awynckle of the same yoman.
Rich. Sampson of the same yoman.
Wm. Smyth of the same yoman
Robt Beckett of the same Esq.
Rich. Shelley of the same Esq.
Leond. Bylson of the same Clerk
Peter Carew of the same yoman.
Theobald Gren of the same yoman.
Walter Blunt of the same yoman.
James Fenne of the same yoman.
John Graye of the same yoman.
Wm Phillips of the same yoman.
Wm Tucker of the same yoman.
Edmund Saxton of the same yoman.
Rich. Webster of the same yoman.
Richard Reynolds of Southwark yoeman.
Henry Sherwood of the same drap.
Henry Cockeram of the same Scholemaster.
Wm. Green of the same Scholemaster.
John Ridge of the same yoman.
Eliz. Sherwood of the same spinster.
Johane Lowys the wife of Philipp Lowys of the same gent.
Ed. Jackson of the same clerk.
Ed. More of the same gent.
John Jacobb of the same yoman.

Wm Hartley of the same clerk.
Jo. Tucker of the same printer.
Jo. Harrys of the same yoman.
Jo. Larvye of the same printer.
Wm Walker of the same clerk.
Jervall Parpoint of the same clerk.
Wm Denton of the same clerk.
Walter Taylor of the same yoman.
Rich. Norrys do clerk.
Wm Byshopp do yoman.
Jo. Nashe do yoman.
John Bradstock of the same yoman.
Jane Gouldwyer do spinster.
Edward Shollye do gent.

Vol. 5, *No.* 41, *Loseley.*

"*Surrey.*—The names of all such psns both men and women as have been presented and indicted as recusants at the general sessions of the peace holden within this C. of Surrey together with a Note of such psons as have been sent forth against them as followeth.

"*Croydon.* Dis Martis XX post Festm Epiphiae Dm. Anno XXIIII o Regni Eliz.

Anna Whitney de Micham spinster.
Jana Saunder de Ewell spinster VX.
Erasim Saundr gen.
Franciscus Browne de Salvak in Burgo de Southwark
Ar et
Johanna uxor eius
Henr. Browne de ead Ar. et Anna uxor eius.
Dña Maria Vauze de ad
Georgius Bruster de ad gen.
Elizabeth Turr de ead spinster
M̃gareta Pkyns de ead spinster
Maria Courtney de ead spinster.
Anna Steward de ead spinster.
Maria Perkyns de ead spinster.
Carolus Arrundell de Sutton dr
Johanna York de Richmond spinster.

"Against all which psons writt of verri facias capias, ali as, pluries went forth orderly and then the exigent, upon which exigent the said Francis Browne and Johane his wife Henry Browne and Anne his wife and George Bruster did appear and tendered several transfers to the said Indictments and were there upon bound by several recognisances knowledged in open Sessions to present their said transfers, with effect and that if upon trial it should be found against them and then to yield their bodies to prison etc and the said Charles Arrundel was discharged by Secretary Walsingham's letters and the rest stand outlawed etc.

“ *Reigate.* Dis Mtis XX post Clm. Pasche Anno XVIIII Regni Elizab.

Katherina Cornewallis de Esthorsley gen.
Mabella Sandes ed ead. gen.

“ Against whom writ of ve farca., pk, et kp, went forth, and then further pces against the said Katherine Staid by Mr. Secretary Walsingham's letters and the exigent went forth gainst the said Mabel and she standeth waived etc.

Thomas Crowlye de Southwark ar.
Petrus Tychbournes de ead A.
Erasmus Woulseley de ead Ar.
Johēs Beconsawe de ead gen.
Robertus Jesopp de ead gen.
Richs Waldron de ead Lynnendrap.
Gregorius Awynckle de eadem yoman.
Ricus Sampson de ead em yoman.
Wllm Smyth de eadem yoman.
Robtus Beckett de eadem yoman.
M̃garet uxor eius.
Richs Shelley de ead Ar.
Leondns Bilson de eadem Clicus.
Petrus Carewe de ead gen.
Theobaldus Green de ead gen.
Walter Blunt de ead gen.
Jacobus Fenne de ead gen.
Johes Graye de ead gen.
Willm Philipps de ead gen.
Willm Tocker de ead gen.
Edus Saxton de ead gen.
Ricas Webster de ead gen.
Ricus Reynolds de Southwark pd yoman.
Henricus Sherwood de ead. drap.
Henric. Cockeram de ead Schoolmaster.
Willm Green de ead Schoolemaster.
Johes Ridge de ead em yoman.

Elizabeth Sherwood de ead spinster.
Johanna Lowys uxor Philippi Lowys de ead gen.
Edwardus Jackson de ead Clicus.
Edwardus More de ead gen.
Johes Jacob de ead yoman.
Witts Harletey de ead Clicus.
Johes Tocker de ead Printer.
Johes Harrys de ead yoman.
Johes Harvye de ead printer.
Witts Walker de ead Clicus.
Jarvallus Upoint de ead Clicus.
Willm Denton de ead Clicus.
Walter Taylor de ead yoman.
Rcus Norrys de ead Clicus.
Wills Byshop de ead yoman.
Johes Nashe de ead yoman.
Johes Bradstock de ead yoman.
Jana Gouldwyer nuper de ead spinster et.
Edwardus Sheller de ead gen.

"All which psons were indicted also at Reigate above said and all of them in prison and at the Assizes or Gaol delivery holden at Kingston XXVI o Julii Anno XXIIII o Regni Eliz. were arraigned etc and then repried to prison.

"*Guildford.* Die Mtis XX post Festm St Petri Appli, Anno R Rne Eliz. XXIIII o

Nichas Walgrave de Merstham gent.
Robtus Gage de Croydon gen et Elizabeth ex. eius
Henr. Bowne de Parochia St Salvat in South. gen et Anna uxor eius
Georgius Bruster de ead gen.
Maria Vause de ead gen.
Thomas Bleke de ead Tailor.
Eliz. Fromon ux. Willi Fromans de Cheyham (Cheam) gen.
Will. Catesby de Lambeth Miles.
Catesbye uxor eius.
Jana Throgmorton de ead gen.

"Against all which psons writs of vefa, cas, al, pl, and ther exigent went forth upon which the said Nicholas Walgrave Hen. Browne and Anna his wife, Robt Gage and Eliz. his wife and George Bruster did yield there bodies to the Sheriff of Surry and thereupon the said Nicholas Walgrave Hen. Browne and Anne his wife came in and did submit and conform themselves and did in full sessions recognise the same submission according to the Statute, etc. and that they would resort to the church according to the true meaning of that Statute etc and the said Robt. Gage and Eliz. hith wife were discharged by lrs from 3 or her Mats Privy Counsels which lrs were delivered to the Justice of Assise and shewed to me at the Assise by Sr Thomas Gawdyry and the said Willm Catesbye was committed by the L. of her Majis Privy Con. to the Dean of Wyndsor and the said George Bruster committed to prison and the rest stand outlawed.

"*Croydon.* Die mtis XX pst Fest. Epiph. Dmi A R. Reg. Eliz. XXVI o.

Barthus Dawnse de Camberwell gent esq.
Thomas Croke de Lambeth in Sh. gent et [blank] uxor eius
Robt Albury de Thursley Smith.
Eliz. Beasant de Poch Sci Salvat. in bur. de South. vid.
Risens Flood de Woking yoman.
Isabel Asheburneham de pch. St Salv. spinster.
Jana Mallynax de Nutfeld gen. uxor Thomas Mollinax.
Seth Goulston de Richmond Tyler.
Garden de Lambeth gen
Nichus Larymer de Micham yoman.

The said Barth. Dawnse and Nich. Larymer did submit and conform them selves etc and the rest stand outlawed.

Southwark. XV° die Feb. Anno R. Rno Eliz. XXVI°

Eliz. Fromons uxor Will. Fromons de Cheyham (Cheam) gen.
Hellana Fromons de ead gen. a.
Thomas Fromons de Chayham gen.
Willms Philbey de Lee als Ligh-gen.

Against all whch psons writ of etc. and the exigent went forth and they all stand outlawed.

Reigate. Die mts XX post Clm Pasche Anno R Rne Eliz XXVI°

Johanna Pynner de Mitcham gen.
Maria Pynner de ead gen.
Anna Whitney de ead gen.
A Johanna Whitney de ead gen.
Southcott ux Johis Sowthcott ? des mescham gen.

Against all, etc.

Guildford. Die mtis XX post Festm St Petri Appli. Anno R Rne Eliz XXVI°

Johes Garden de pochia Sae Maria Magd. in Bermondsey gen.

Against whom etc.

Kingston. Die etc. pst Fest St Michis Archi etc.

Allington de Mitcham vid.

Johes Talbot de ead gen.

Johes Butt de Walton sub thamis yoman.

Anthinus Mason de Kewe Ar.

Against whome, etc., and thereupon the said John Tabotby Richard Fuller his attorney appeared and did by plu demur in law upon the insufficiencie of the Judgement against him and had day given by the Court to show the Causes in writing.

Croydon. Die mentis 20 post fets. Epiph. Dom. anno R. Rege• Eliz. XXVII.

Willmus Lypscombe de Lambeth gen. esq.

Against etc. who thereupon came in and did submit and conform himself.

Reigat. Die post Clm Pasche Anno R. El. XXVII°.

Willm Beda de Lambeth yoman.

Johes Pker de Cobham gen.

Johanna Banyster de Windlesham.

Ag. etc.—and they stand outlawed.

Guildford. die - - - Fest. Pet. a. R.E. XXVII°.

Eliz. Browne de Ewell gen uxor Cuthb. Browne gen.

Anna Lorde de ead gen.

Allan Horde de ead gen.

Barbara uxor eius.

Nich. Saunder gen de ead gen.

Ricus Wright de ead yoman.

Agnes Cobhett de Guildford spinster.

Against all of whch psons went forth writ etc. whereupon Nicholas Saunder appeared and did submit and Conform himself and against all the rest went forth al etc.

Croydon. Die m XX post F. Ep. Dm. a. XXVIII°.

Ricus Wright de Ewell yoman.

Johes Dovyngton de Richmond.

Ag. etc.

Reigate. Die mts pr post Clm. Pasch. XXVIIII°.
Thomas Pownds de Lambeth gen.
Maria Mody uxor Johis Mody de ead gen.
Willms Shurlock de Dunsfold.
Johes Cobden de Stoke dawborne gen.
Rahus Borne de Walton sup. Thamisium gen.
Against, etc.

Kingston. Die mts - tc S Mich. a. XXVIII°.
Franciscus Freman de Lambeth gen. et
Freman uxor eius
Ptrus Loe de ead gen.
Johanna hoe uxor eius
Barthus Brockesbye de mtem. gen.
Anna Easton de ead spinster
Edrus Hinde de Noillate gen.
Dorothea Lovell uxor Gregor. Lovell de Merstham Ar.
Wlm Whyborne de Lambeth gen.
Ricus Mackerell de Godalming, fuller.
Against whom, etc.

Croydon. Die mtis - - - Epiph. ano. XXIX.no
Nichus Clarke de mten yoman.
Thomas Cuddington Jun de Ewell Yoman.
Georgius Catesbie de Lambeth gen.

Reigate. Die m - - - Pasch. A - - - XXIX.no
Nichus Formans de Carsalten gen.

exr. per me GEORGIUS AUSTEN.
Clicus pac. Com. Surr.

Prisoners in the Marshalsea.

(*Loseley Bundle*, 1380, "Recusancy.")

II Most of all such as are at this present remaining prisoners in the Marshalsea being committed for their disobedience in Religion taken the XX7th day of July 1582 as followeth.

1. Robert Becket of Montrennuik in the Count. of Cornwall, Esq
2. Margaret Becket the wife of the said Rob. Becket lastly named.
3. Richard Shelley of Wormch rste in the County of Sussex, Esq.
4. Bernard Bilson before his imprisonment which hath been this XXth years he was parson of Havant and Kingesworthie in the County of Southp. and Prebendary residentiarie of Winchester and Salsisbury.

5. Jarvis Parpointe of Grays Inn in the County of Middlesex gent.
6. Peter Carey of Hackcombe in the County Devon, gent.
7. Theobald Green late of Lincolnes Inn in Count. of Midd. gent.
8. Walter Blunt of Osbaston in the C. of Leicester, gent.
9. James Feml of Mountague in the C. of Londth gent.
10. Edward Moore of Whaddon in the C. of Cambridg, gent.
11. John Graye late of Preston in the C. of Suffs, gent.
12. William Phillippes of St. Key in C. of Cornwall.
14. Edmond Sexton of Whaddon in the C. of Cambridge, gent.
15. Richard Webster late of Loddon in the C. of Norfolk, gent.
16. Richard Raynolde of Blaniscs in the C. of Lancaster, yoman
17. Henry Sherwood of London, draper.
19. Henry Cochrane late of Nottingham in the C. of Notts, Schoolmaster
20. William Grene late of Harkesteads in the C. of Safk, Schoolmaster
21. John Jacobe late of Oxford in the C. of Oxford, yoman.
22. John Ridge of Longerandur in the C. of Kick husbandman.
23. John Harris late of Shrewisbury in the C. of Salfr. (Salop)
24. John Cocker citizen and Printer of London.
25. John Harvey ,citizen and Printer of London.
26. Elizabeth Sherwood of Nottingham in the C. of Notts widdow.
27. John Lowes the wife of Philip Lowes of the firth of St. Andrews under-thall, London gent.
28. Edward Jackson of Datison in the C. of Norfolk, priest.
29. Wm. Walker of Athennan in the C. of Norf. priest.
30. Wm. Denton of Golton in C. of York, priest.
31. Wm. Hartley—St. Johns Coll. in Oxford, priest.
32. Richard Norris of Mis in , priest.
33. W. Byshoppe of Braytes in the C. of Warwick priest.
34. John Nashe of the joint priest Porte of London Taylor.

All these 34 persons beforenamed stand indicted in the County of Surrey and these four persons following are

1. Thomas Moore of Chelsey in the Countie of Midd. gent, being comitted the XXVIIth of Aprill 1582.
2. T Smale of Ponghill in the Countie of Cornwall priest, being committed the XXVth of Maye 1582.
3. George Felbye of Oxford in the Countie of Oxon Carrier being comitted the IIIIth of Maye 1582.
4. Thomas Crowder of Ludlow in the Countie of Salopp. priest being committed the XXIIth of Marche 1581.

Vol. XII. No. 52. *Loseley.*

A true certificate delivered unto the Queen's Majesty's justices of the peace for the Co. of Surrey, of all such prisoners as be committed to the custody of Anthony Thorpe, keeper of the White Lion in Southwark for religion and there remaining the 23d. of July 1582.

Indicted

Erasmus Wolsley of Wolsley hall in the Co. of Stafford, gentleman —Indicted.

Thomas Crawley, of Manewden in the Co. of Essex, gentleman—Indi.

Peter Tychbourne of Porchester in the Co. of Southampton, gent, Ind.

John Beckonsawe of Burghclere in the Co. of Southampton, gent. Ind.

William Smythe of London in the parish of St. Sepulchre's, gent. Ind.

Robert Jessopp of London, servingman—Ind.

Richard Waldarn of London in the parish of St. Magnus Salter—Ind.

Gregory Owmkell of Tamworth in the Co. of Staffords. Student. —Ind.

Richard Sampson of Benfield in the Co. of Berks yeoman—Ind.

Not Indicted

William Scott.

Henry Shelley of Mapledurham in the Co. of Southampton. Gent.

Robert Watson of the parish of Bexley in the Co. of Kent, servingman.

Francis Gardener, servant unto my Lord Pagett.

Vol. XII. No. 53. *Loseley.*

Prisoners in the Clinke for Religion the 23. Day of July 1582.

Indicted

Edward Shelley of Worminghurst in the Co. of Sussex gent.

Christopher Archer of the parish of St. Michael's in Cornwall London. gent.

William Stapleton of the parish of Bradley in the Co. of Stafford gent. Indicted

John Branstock of Queenhill in the parish of Rippule in the Co. of Worcester Yeoman.

Indicted

Jane Goldwyer, late of Whateley in the Co. of Oxford, widow.

The Peculiars from Doctor Lewen. (*Los.* 1085, *XV*.).

Newington in Surrey. Mr. William Beard and John Fox Churchwardens, William Stiles Robert Hubberd, Mathew Chapman and Robert Hobbes fremen of Newington in the deanerie of Croyden by their bill made the XXIII° Maye and exhibited XXV^to^ of Maye 1585 do present as followeth—

Imprimis we present Mrs. Lowes of or towne of Newington aforesaid for not comynge to the Church but doth obstinatelye refuse to come their att all.

Croyden in Surrey. Mr. Gage is said not come too the Churche.

Easthorsley in Surrey. Richard Richebell one of the Churchwardens Thomas Baker, and Christopher (?) Booth freemen by their bill exhibited XXVI^to^ of June 1585 do present as followeth—

We present my Ladie Cornwallys doth not come to the Church.

Item we present Jane Bromfield her gentlewoman hath not bene at this Church nor at any other Church to our knowledge since the last quarter sessions.

From Doctor Hone.

The names and Surmanes of all such Recusants within Surrey as have bene certefied unto the right worshippful and other her maties Justices of peace within the Countie of Surrey att the feast of Snt John Baptist laste and sithence

Midsomer quarter 1585

Lambeth Mr. [blank in MS.] Wallgrave and his wife whose Christian names the Churchwardens cold not learne.

Stretham Mr. Doctor Frier and certeine of his servauntes whose names they cold not learne.

Mitcham Mr. Talbott whoe is her Maties prisoner as it is psented by the Churchwardens.

Nuttfield Jane Mollenux the wife of Thomas Mollenux gent.

Ewell Mrs. Elizabeth Browne the wife of Cuthberte Browne, Anne Whorde her dawghter Allen Whord gent, and Mrs. Barbara Whord his wife Mr. Nicholas Saunder gent the yonger and his wife Mr. Richard Wright sojorynge in the howse of Thomas Cuddington of Ewell.

Covehm John Parker yeom

Snt Maries in Guildford Henrie Danborne Sherman and Agnes Cobhett the wife of Edward Cobhett weaver.

Mighellmas quarter 1585

Snt Saviors pish in Sowthw: Elizabeth Bisand wedowe.

Mitcham Mrs. Anne Whitney.

Richmond John Dorrington conte

Lambeth Mrs. [no name in MS.] Moodie, Sr Willme Catisbye knight, whose aunswere is that he is at the Counsells Comaundmt, under the deane of Windsor.

Ewell Mr. Allen Whord gent and Barbara his wife Elizabeth Browne the wife of Mr. Cuthbert Browne and Anne Whorde her dawghter Richard Wright contd

Christmas quarter 1585

Lambeth Mrs. Moodie the wife of Mathew Hever.

Walton on Thames Ralfe Bourne gent contd.

Mitcham Mrs. Anne Whitney.

Stoke Dawborne John Cobden.

Elizabeth Browne the wife of Cuthbert Browne Mrs. Anne Whord his Dawghter Richard Wright.

Our Ladie daie quarter 1586

Donnysfold Mr. William Sherlock

Lambeth Sir William Catisbie Thomas Pownd gent Maria Moodie the wife of John Mood gent

Stokedawborne. John Cobden.

Ewell Mrs. Elizabeth Browne the wife of Cuthbert Browne Mrs. Anne Whore her dawghter and Mr. Allen Whorde gent Richard Wright.

A Colleccon of the names of such Recusants as are nowe to be dealt with all as followeth

Lambeth	Mr. Walgrave
	Allen Whord
Ewell	Nicholas Saunders Junior
	Richard Wright
Coveham	John Parker Yeom
Snt Maries in Guildford	Henrie Dawberne Shereman
Stretham	Doctor Frier
Snt Saviors in Sowthwarke	Elizabeth Bisand, wedowe
Richmond	John Dorrington
Walton uppon Thames	Ralfe Bourne gent
Stokewborne	John Cobden
Dunsfold	William Shurlocke
Lambeth	Thomas Pownd gent
Newington	Mrs. Lowes widowe

Loseley Vol. 5, *No.* 26.

Surrey. A note to all the Recusants now prisoners in the King's Bench the VIIth day of March 1585.

Richard Owldeaker	Husbandmen	2
Ralfe Owldeaker		

Recusants now prisoners in the Marshalsey.

Thomas Habarley	Priests	12
John Lyster		
John Boltone		
John Harrisone		
Wm. Elargemett		
Nicholas Knighte		
Francis Tillisone		
James Edwards		
Edmond Caverley		
Rbert Wilcox		
Ralf Pawmer		
John Smith		

Willm Greene gent of Tonstins in Staffordshire scholmaster	Recusants	10
Walter Blunt gent of Kingston in the C. of Stafford		
Edmont Sexton gent of Westm		
John Tucker yeoman of Newbury in the C. of Berks printer		
Peter Lawson of Ripon in the C. of Yorks. yeoman		
Wm. Crombelhome of Stapish in Lancaster yeoman		
John Williamson of Ditton in the C. of Lancaster gent.		
Thomas Moore gent of Lowlaighton in the C. of Essex late of Barnborough.		
Robert Holland, gent of Clifton in the C. of Lancaster.		
Richard Webster gent of Gigleswick in Craven in the C. of Yorkshire.		

Recusants now prisoners in the Clink

Willm Parrey	Priests	4
John Robinson		
John Adams		
Pawle Spence		
		28

John Lawnder gent of Lawborn in the C. of Yorks	Recusants	7
Walter Trevethen gent of Malden in the C. of Cornwall		
Richard Dowst yeoman of Ythfielde in the C. of Lycincpshire		
John Whyte of Hursley in the C. of South. yeoman.		
Stephen Chesten of the City of Wminster yeoman.		
John Bradstock of Quinhill in the C. of Worc. yoeman.		
Mrs. Katherin Greene of Newbry in the C. of York, the wife of John Green Esq.		

Recusants now prisoners in the White Lyon.

John Beaconsawe gent in Co. Southhampton.	Recusants	5
Wme. Smythe gent of Bangor in the C. of Carmarthen		
George Collynsone Clerk		
Richard Sampsom gent of Bynfeeld in the C. of Bark.		
Richard Waldron Layman draper. of Citizen Lynerdah Londs.		
	Total	40

Wyllam Gardyner.

Other certificates for June, 1586, give names of 59 priests in the following prisons: Marshalsea, Wood Street, White Lion, Newgate, Clink, Gate House, Wisbeach. (Dom. Eliz., 190, nn. 25, 42 and 44).

In the Marshalsea: (*Vol.* 5, *No.* 27, *Loseley*).

Thomas More of Lowlaighton in the Co. of Essex, gent, late of Barnbrough.
Walter Blount of Lingston in the Co. of Stafford, gent.
Edward Sexton of Westminster, gent.
Richard Webster of Engleswick in Craven in the Co. of York gent.
Robert Holland of Clifton in the Co. of Lancaster, gent.
Peter Lawson of Ripon in the Co. of York, Yoman.
John Williams of Ditton on the Co. of Lancaster gent.

John Tucker of Newbery in the C. of Berks, printer.
William Green of Tonstons in Staffordshire, Schoolmaster.
William Cromblehome of Stidpish in Lancashire, yoman.
Robert Beckett of Menhynnete in the Co. of Cornwall, gent.

The King's Bench.
Ralph Oldacre of . . .
Richard Oldacres

In the White Lion.
William Smyth of Bangor in the Co. of Carmarthen, gent.
Richard Sampson of Bynfield in the Co. of Barks, gent.
Richard Waldron of Cirizen, and Linendraper of London.

Egrotus.
John Beaconshall of . . . in Co. Southampton, gent.

In the Clink.
John Lawder of Lawborn in the Co. of York, gent.
John Bradstock of Quynshill in the Co. of Worc. Yoman.
Walter Trevethen of Malden in the Co. of Cornwall, gent.
Richard Dowse of Ythfealde in the Co. of Hampshire, Yoman.
Stephen Cheston of the City of Winchester, Yoman.
Jonh White of Hursley in the Co. of South. yoman.
Mrs. Catherine Green of Newby in the Co. of Yorkshire, the wife of John Green Esq.

A note on MS. by Bray . . (?)—Newby in the Parish of Topcliffe—Pedegree of Green—*Harl. MS.*, 1171.

On the Back of the above list is a draft of letter in Sir W. More's handwriting :—

> "With remembrance of our duties unto your honourable Lordships it may please the same to receive the hereinclosed a certificat of our proceedings with the recusants within this County according to the contents of your Lordship's letters. We understand not the state of their wealthes or livings for they have nothing within this County to our knowledge.
>
> "Only Francis Brown and John Southcote Esquire best known unto us have as we think made a true declaration of the just value of their yearly Revenues. We were informed by Richard Ede, porter of the Marshalsea that Robert Beckett, Thomas More and John Grey be of greater living and hability than they declared themselves to be. As many appear unto your Lordships by his declarations under his hand hereinclosed."

The names of Recusants convicted or indicted within the Countie of Surrey.

Henry Dorrell senior of Newdigate gent.
Henry Dorrell junior of Newdigate gent.
John Dorrell senior Newdigate
John Dorrell junior Newdigate
John Gage late of Newdigate esquire
John Gape (?) of Newdigate yeoman.
Jane Mullenaxe of Nutfield spinster.
William Copley of Gatby esq.
John Sherry senior of Gatton tailor (?)
John Sherry junior of Gatton husbandman
Th. Underwood of Gatton husbandman
Howard Jarman of Lambhte gent.
Richard Phelbye, alias Kilby of St. Savs. in Southwark, tailor
William Clarke alias Baker of Sutton yeoman

Recusants convicted.

George Redall of Send yeoman.
Wllm Redall of Send yeoman.
Elizabeth Redall of Send spinster
Jane Redall of Send yeoman.
George Smythe of Cheam gent.
William Greene of Estmowlsey gent.
and Greene his wife.

Henry Brittaine of Great Bookham gent.
Anne Brittaine his wife.
Joane Morgon of G.B. widow.
Th. Tompkins of Great Bookham gent.
Marie Nudigat of Ashted, the wife of
Henry Nudigat gent.
Richard Hatton of Longditton gent
Mary Hatton his wife
Dorothye Standen of Esher widowe
Elizabeth Blake of Ewell the wife of George Blake.

Bartholomew Fromond of Cheam gent
and Susan Fromondes his wife
Francis Davies of Cheam journeyman
Agnes Davies his wife
Edward Scot of Barmondsey in Southwark gent and Joan Scot his wife.
Margaret Scot of the same spinster.

On the back of this document is written:

"For as much as by reason as well of the attendance uppon the prince Palatine our dear son in law and upon our daughter Elizabeth the Princess his wife, in your journey to Heidleberg in Germany, and your employment there for especial cause of our service you can not be present". (*Los.* 1085, *XV.*).

A list of 109 Catholics in diff. counties, *i.e.* (*Los. ibid.*),

Sir Thomas Cornwallis
Sir John Arundell
Sir Thomas Gressham
Sir Wm. Catesbie
Sir Thomas Fitzherbert
Sir John Southworte
Sir Thomas Gerard
Sir George Peckham
Sir John Cotton of Cambridgeshire
Sir Thomas Kitson
Norfolke
Mr. Jerningham of Cerses
Mr. Downes of Merton
The Sonne and heire of Sir Th. Cornwallis
Mr. Southwell of St. Fayes
Mr. Southwell of Fysinge
Mr. Rinkwood of Euston
Mr. Hubbard of Hales-Hale
Henry Hubbard his sonne and heire
Mr. Beningfield of Quedoram
Mr. Thwayties his sonne in lawe
Mr. Lovell of Harlinge and his sonne
Younge Rievett his sonne in lawe
Mr. Lovell of Buchemwell
Mr. Philip Awdley
Mr. Brampton of Brampton
Mr. Godfrey of Norwitch
Mr. Carvell of Marsland
Mr. Willoughbye of Marsland
Thomas Bosome
Roger Hubbard
Mr. Barney
Mr. St. Johns of Hokeringe
Suffolke
Mr. Culyard of Wetherden
Mr. Thomas Culyard his brother
Mr. Drury of Losell
Mr. Ruckwood of Soldham Hall
Mr. Marten of Mellford
Mr. Marten the younger
Mr. Darmell th'elder
Mr. Darmell the younger
Mr. Mannocke of Stoke
Mr. Yapley of Yapley
Mr. Beningfield of Bruseyard
Mr. Everard th'elder
Mr. Everard the younger
Mr. Fetter
Essex
Mr. Rook Grene of Lamford
Mr. Greene the younger
Kente
Mr. Pettit the younger
Mr. John Driland
Mr. Moorings
Mr. Hawkings th'elder
Mr. Hawkins the younger
Mr. Crust
Mr. John Mayney
Hamshire
Three of the Welles
Younge Dymmocke
Mr. White
Mr. Warmeford
Mr. Hoorde
Mr. Tettersale
Young Shelley of Maplederham
Yorkeshire

Mr. Mettham of Mettham
Mr. Craythorne of Craythorne
Mr. Bapthorp of Osgoodbie
Peter Vavasoure
Waterton of Waterton
Mr. Trupinge
John Broesland
Younge Dynnyngton of Monckey
Mr. Hungatt
Mr. Nellson
Mr. Tirwhitt of Twigmore
Mr. Yapley of Boston
Mr. Thunbloby—Mr. Houghton
Mr. Price of Washingley
Mr. Townley—Mr. Standish
Mr. John Tablott
Mr. Frauncis Browne
Mr. John Gifford
Mr. John Wiborne
Mr. Robert Gage
Mr. Edward Gage
Mr. Langford
Mr. Fenton
Mr. Gatts
Mr. Grene of Kente
Mr. Randall
Mr. Willm Wiborne
Mr. Willford of Kente
Mr. Gawen
Wiseman and his brother in Essex
Thomas Heathe
Roger Hyne
Willm Higham
Jarvis Parpointe
Mr. John Pallin of Rogworthe
Mr. Worthyngton
Mr. Carrell of Sussex
Mr. Cotton of Warblington

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Surrey Henry Shelley, of Southwark, Gent.
Edward Moore, gent.
Thos. Beckett there, gent.
Robert Jesop there, gent.
Edward Sexton, gent.
William Tocker, gent.
Theobald Green, gent.
John Gray, gent.
John Jacob, gent.
Rich. Webster, gent.
John Beconshawe, gent.
William Phillips, gent.
Walt. Stapleton, gent.
Richa. Woster, gent.
Walter Blount, gent.
Richard Shelley, gent.
Peter Carew, gent.
Edward Shelley, gent.
George Beastley, gt.
Ths. Moore, gent.
Fra. Browne esquire.

Dame Ann Cripps of Lambeth
Edward Bentley of Hyngray Bentley gent.
Jo. Harvey of Fenham
Erasmus Saunders of Ewell gen
Edward Gage esquire.
Sir William Catesby living at Lambeth.

If any of the persons above named be known to you to be become reformable in religion by repairing to devine service agreable with the laws of the realm then is it not meant that they should be disarmed. M. WAADE.

Vol. V., No. 38c. Loseley.

Surrey. Francis Browne of Henley Park Esq.
John Wiborne of Lambeth gent.
Charles Walgrave of Lambeth gent—Thomas More of Barnebrogh, Robert Becket, Henry Shelly of Southwark, gent—Edward Bannester, Edward Moore gent, Tho. Becket Esq—Robert Jesop gent—Edward Sexton. gent—Wm. Tocke gent—Theobald Green gent—John Grey gent—John Jacob gent—Richard Webster gent—John Beconshaw gent—Wm. Phillips gent—Richard Waldren gent—Wm. Stapleton gent—Richard Woster gent—Walter Blounte gent—Richard Shelley gent—Peter Carewe gent—Edward Shelley gt—George Beawsley gt and writt Beasley—Jane Anne Crips of Lambeth—Edward Bentley gt—John Harvey of Fenham gt—Erasmus Saunders of Ewell gt—Edward Gage Esqre—Sir Wm Catesby living at Lambeth.

WM. WAADE.

Vol. V., No. 38d. Loseley. (note: gt=gent.).

Henry Shelley of Southwark get—Ed. More gt—Ths. Beckett there gt—Rob. Jesop there gt—Ed. Sexton gt—Wm. Tocker g.—Theobald Green g.—John Green g.—John Jacob g.—Rich. Webster g.—John Beaconshaw g.—Wm. Phillipps g.—Rich. Waldren g.—Wm. Stapleton gt—Ric. Woster g.—Walter Blont g.—Ric. Shelley g.—Peter Carewe g.—Ed. Shelley g.—George Beasley g.—Thos. More gt—Fra. Browne esq.—Dame Anne Cripps of Lambeth and Ed. Bentley of Hungrey Bentley [Derby] gt—Jo. Harvey of Fenham [Northld]—Erasmus Saunders of Ewell g.—Ed. Gage esq—Sir Wm. Catesby, living at Lambeth.

If any of the persons above named be known to you to be become conformable in religion by repairing to divine service agreable with the laws of the Realm then is it not meant that they should be disarmed. W. WAADE.

These papers are endorsed " To our very loving friends
Sir Wm. More, Sir Fr. Carewe,
Sir Ths. Browne, knt, Wm. Howard,
Thomas Lysfield, Ge. More,
Thos. Vincent, Rich. Bostock,
Rob. Livesey, Ed. Bellingham Esqres.
27th Ap. 1585."

Vol. V., No. 68. Loseley.

2 indictments for 4 months	Francis Brown esquire and Joan his wife of St. Saviour's
	Jane Saunder wife of Erasmus Saunder of Ewell
	Ann Whitney of Micham.
2 indictments 4 months	John Brown esquire and Ann his wife of St. Saviour's
	The Lady Mary Vawse of the same.
	George Bruster gent of the same.
	Margaret Korkins of the same
	Mary Courtney of the same
	Ann Steward of the same
	Elizabeth Turner of the same
	Mary Parkins of the same
1 indictment 6 months	Charles of Arundel of Sutton esquire.
	Johane Yorke of Richmond.

The above list is undated—written in Sr. W. More's handwriting.

Loosley Vol. 5, No. 28.

In Sir W. More's handwriting.	List of Prisoners :—
dead	John Wyborn of Lambeth—dead.
	Charles Walgrove of Lambeth gent now in Kent.
	Robert Becket, gent.
	Harry Shelley of Southwark, gent, dead.
	Edward More gent delivered out of the Marshalsea by order from the Counsell one year past and where be is not known.
	Thomas Becket esq. none such in Surrey.

dead Robert Jessop, gent dead in the White Lion in summer last.

Wm. Tucker late of the Marshalsea, gent was delivered from the Marsh. about 2 years past by my L. of Canterbury's order and

dead Theobald Green gent dead in the Marshalsea in August was twelvemonth

John Grey gent delivered out of the Marshalsea about August last by Mr. Secretary and remains in St. Mary Overies.

John Jacob gent delivered out of the Marsh. the XVII of May was twelvemonth and sent to Bridewell by order of the Council.

John Beakonsall gent at liberty for a time by Mr. Secrety.

dead Willm Phillips dead in the Marsh. 2 years past.

Willm Stapleton gent delivered out of the Clink about a year past by warrant from the Counsell.

Richard Worter, gent not known by any of the keep.

dead Richard Shelley gent dead, being in prison within the Marsh. for about a month past.

Peter Carew gent delivered out of the Marsh. by ordr taken by Mr. Young of London the third of January last.

Edward Shelley gent delivered out of the Clynk about a year and a half past by order from the couns. and now remaineth in the Counter in Woodstreet.

dead George Beawstley not known but one George Brewster was delivered and is dead.

dead Dame Anne Crips of Lambeth dead.

Edward Bentley gent.

John Hardy of Fenham* gent delivered by order from the C. to Bridewell with John Jacob.

Erasmus Saunders of Ewell gent not within the shire.

Edward Gage esq. delivered out of the Marshalsea about two years past by order of the C. and is commonly to be found at Southampton house in London.

Vol. 5, *No.* 29. *Loseley.*

9 Mar. 1585. Surrey. A note of the several livings of such Recusants now remaining in the County of Surrey as are of hability and of such sumes of money as they offer to pay yearly into her Maj. receipt to her Highness's use set down under their hands the IXth of March 1585.

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* In Northumberland.

Robte Beckett of Menhenist in the C. of Cornwall. gent, declareth his living to be but XL£ yearly. Whereof he is contented to pay into her Maj. receipt yearly.	Ten pounds.
Thomas More of Lowleighton* in the C. of Essex gent decl. his whole revenue above all charges to be but XX£ yearly whereof, etc	five pounds
John Lavnder of Nawborne† in the C. of York gent, decl. that he hath consumed all that he hath saving only XLs. yearly of an annuity of the which he offereth to yield XXs. yearly.	Twenty shillings
John Bradstock of Queenhill in the C. of Worc. gent saith he has but XVIII£ yearly to live on of the which he will give yearly her Ma. but XXs.	20 sh.
John Southcott of Mestham‡ in the C. of Surrey, esq. declareth that he hath 160£ only yearly to live on whereof he is contented to pay into her Maj's receipt yearly	40£
Sir Wm Catesby of Lambeth in the C. of Surrey knight, decl. that he hath in living yearly 500£ whereof he is contented to pay yearly into her ma. rec.	100£
Edward Banister of Petney in the C. of Surrey, esq. declareth that he hath in living yearly 200£ of the wch he is con. to p. year. into h.m.r.	30£
Francis Browne of Henley Park in the C. of S. esq dec that h. hath in liv. year. 91£ whereof he is con. to p. into yy into h.m.r.	20£

Vol. 5, *No.* 29. *Loseley.*

A note of such Rec. now remaining in the several gaols of the White Lion, the Marsh the Bench and the Clink in the C. of Surrey as by their own declaration have neither living nor goods.

Walter Blunt of Kingston in the C. of Stafford gent declarath that he never had above five pounds yearly which is ceized into her Maj. hands in respect of his recusancy. And so saith he hath nothing to answer to her Maj.

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* Lowleyton ? as Lowleighton is in Derbyshire.

† Nawton.

‡ Merstham.

Willm Smith of Banger in the C. of Carmarthen, gent, decl. that he hath nothing to maintain himself but by the relief of his friends. And so hath nothing to . . . Maj.

Richard Sampson of Binfield in the C. of Berk, gent, dec. that he hath nothing to maintain himself and so can yield to her Maj. nothing.

Edmond Sexton of the City of Westm. gent decl. that he had but only 20 marks yearly by lease which was ceized and sold to her Maj's use because of his Recsy. And so hath noth. to yield unto her Maj.

Richard Webster of Giggleswick in Craven in the C. of York, gent decl, that he hath nothing to maintain himself. And so can yield n. to . . .

Robert Holland of Clifton in the C. of Lanc. gent saith he hath but XXIIIs VIII p. yearly And so can yield nothing to her M.

Peter Lawson of Ripon in the C. of York, yoman saith he hath nothing to yield unto her M. for he hath nothing to live on.

John Williamson of Ditton in the C. of Lanc. son of Mr. Williamson saith he hath noth. to live on. And so not able to . . .

John Tucker of Newbery in the C. of Berk, printer saith he hath nothing to live on. And so . . .

Wm Green of Tonstons in the C. of Staff, schoolmaster saith he hath nothing . . .

Wm. Cromblehome of Stidd parish in the C. of Lanc. yoman do.

Ralph Oldakres of Roston in the C. of Darby, win, do.

Richard Oldakers of Roston do. tailor, etc.

Walter Trevethen of Malden in the C, of Cornwall gent, do.

Richard Dowse of Ytsfield, in the C. of South. yoman, do.

Stephen Cheston of Winchester yom. but five marks yearly to live on which if he might have his liberty he would be content to give unto her Majesty.

John White of Hursley in the C. of South. yom. saith he hath nothing to live on, etc.

John Grey of Preston in the C. of Suff. gent saith he hath nothing to live on: And so not able to yield anything unto her Majesty.

Vol. 5, *No.* 29. *Loseley.*

A note of the names of such Rec. contained in the Schedule inclosed in their honourable Lo. lres as are either dead or not now remaining in this County.

John Wyborne of Lambeth gent dead.

Henry Shelley of Southwark gent dead.

Robt Jessope gent, dead.
Theobald Green gent, dead.
William Phillips gent, dead.
Richard Shelley do gent, dead.
George Bewsley gent not known, but one George Brewsey delivered out of the gaol and now dead.
Dame Anne Cripps of Lambeth, dead.
Ed. More gent, delivd. out of the M's. by order from the Coun. one year past and where he is—not known.
Wm. Tucker, gent was deld. out of the Mla about two years past by the Lo. Archbishop of Cant's order and remaineth now at Islington.
John Jacobbe gent deld. out of the Ma the XVIIth of May 1584 by order from the Coun. and sent to Bridewell.
John Beaconshawe, gent at liberty for a time out of the County by Mr. Secretary.
Mr. Stapleton gent deld. out of the Clink about a year past by warrant from the Couns.
Ed. Shelley gent delivered out of the Clink about a year and a half past by order from the Counsell and now remaineth in the Counter in Woodstreett.
John Harvey of Fenhm gent delivered by order from the tr Bridewell with the said John Jacobbe.
Ed. Gage esq. deld. out of the Marsh, about two years past and lieth commonly at Southampton house in London he was deld. by order from the Counsell.
Peter Carewe gent deld. out of the Mars. by Mr. Young the 3rd of Jan. last by order from the Coun. as he said.
Charles Walgrave gent not in this County but remaineth in Kent.
Thomas Becket esq. not known to be in this County.
Richard Worster gent., not known, who seemed to be mistaken for one Richard Worsley who is not remaining within this County, nor known where he is.
Edward Bentley gent gone out of this County but whither not known.
Erasmus Saunders of Ewell gent not remaining in this County nor certainly known where he is.

Vol. 5, *No.* 29. *Loseley.*

A true certificate delivered unto the Queen's Maj's Justices of the peace for the Co. of Surrey of all such prisoners as be committed to the custody of Anthony Thorpe keeper of the White Lion in Southwark for religion and there remaining the 23rd of July 1582.

Indicted

Erasmus Wolsley of Wolsley Hall in the C. of Stafford, gentleman indicted.

Thomas Crawley of Manewden in the C. of Essex, gentleman, indicted.

Peter Tychborne of Porchester in the C. of Southampton, gent. ind.

John Beckonsawe of Burghclere in the Co. of Southampton, gent. ind.

Willm. Smythe of London in the parish of St. Sepulchre, gent. ind.

Robert Jessop of London servingman, indctd.

Richard Waldarn of London in the psh. of St. Mag. Salter, ind.

Gregory Owmkell of Tamworth in the C. of Stafford, student, ind.

Richard Sampson of Benfield in the C. of Berk yoman, ind.

Not Indicted.

Willm Scott

Henry Shelley of Maple Derham in the C. of Southampton, gent.

Robert Watson of the psh. of Bexley in the C. of Kent.

Francis Gardenir servingman unto my Lord Bagett.

Vol. 5, *No.* 29. *Loseley.*

Prisoners in the Clink for Religion the XXIII day of July 1582.

Indicted.

Edward Shelley of Warminghurste in the Co. of Sussex, gent.

Christopher Archare of the psh. of St. Michaels in Cornwale London, gent.

Willm Stapletone of the psh of Bradley in the C. of Stafford, gent.

John Bradstock of Queen hill in the psh. of Rippule in the C. of Worcester yoman.

Jane Goldwyer late of Whateley in the C. of Oxford, widdow.

List of Recusants—Fragment.

Saint George's in Southwark.	John Gray, gent. Joane Degringe and Elizabeth Farmar his servants.
Newington	Samuel Lone Elizabeth his wife Walter his man Elizabeth his maid Thomas James John Symondes John Lucye Christopher Greenwood George Kydd

Mitcham	Anne Whitnes Raffe Cockrell
Cheam	Elizabeth Fromond
Marten	Dorothy Lovell.

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Chertsey	William Thetcher. Henry Brooke, Daniel Hodnet, John Fenne
Egham	James Wickes, Willm Bullen, Thos Saunders, Wm. Barthlemewe
Thorpe	Walter Goring, Anthoine Allen, Henry Penn, John Spencer,

No date.

1085. *XV. Loseley.*

The Certificate of the Commissionrs touching Jesuits Seminarists fugitives and recusants for the Countie of Surrey according to their proceedings in their severall divisions hereafter particularly expressed.

The Certificate of Sir William More Knight, George More, Lawrence Stoughton, John Agmondesham and Fraunces Arnigur esqs. for the hundreds of Woking, Godley, Farneham, Godalming, Blak Heath and Wotton.

First having called before us the ministers and certain other persons of honest behavior and well affected in religion of evere the parish wthin the said hundred, we gave them a straight charge to make diligent inquire wthin their sevrall limits for Jesuits Seminarists and other fugitives and to observe all such as obstinately refuse to resort to the Church, and to make a true presentment thereof at certain dayes and places appointed, and further to inform as from tyme to tyme as cause should require.

Where uppon at the said dayes appointed we receaved particular certificats of everishe parishe within all the said hundreds that by their inquiries they cold fynd neither Jesuits Seminaries nor other fugitives, within any of their said parishes.

As touching recusants Robert Arceter of Eggham and John Stedolpher of Chertesay gents wthin the hundred of Godley, James Hobson of Woking and Richard Lumleighe of Shalford gent within the hundred of Blackheath were presented and brought before us, who presented their coneformity to her matie laws in resorting to the churche and have said performed the same as we have bin crediblie informed.

Elizabeth Richebell of Westhorsley in the hundred of Woking being in like sort presented unto us, shewed her selfe at the first to be obstinate, but at the last uppon persuasion she came to the churche as we were certified by the minister of the parishe.

One Redall alias Ridall and his wife late of the parishe of St. Nicholas in Guildford, and departed thence to the parishe of Send in the hundred of Woking were presented unto us for recusants, but being fined as yet have not been brought before us.

Roger Burroughes Thomas Thorpe and George Mabanck of the parishe of Ashe within the hundred of Woking being presented and brought before us for recusants did obstinately refuse to come to the church, whereuppon wee examined them upon their questions appointed by the Instructions to be aunswered by othe, wch questions they willingly aunswered but uppon their othe protesting their loyalty to her matie.

Rose Foster of the said parishe of Ashe being in like sort presented and brought before us, refused to com to the churche at psent but promised wthin a short tyme to conforme herself.

The lady Katherin Cornwallis and Agnes Britaine her woman of Esthorsley wthin the hundred of Woking were presented unto us for recusants, but being not then nor since wthin the shere, we cold not call them before us.

Fra. Browne of Ashe in the hundred of Woking big. certified for a recusant was not as yet convented before us for that he was not wthin the Countie.

Mabell Sands was certified by the Clarke of the peace to be indyted for recusancie A° XXIIII° Rne Elliz. dwellinge then at Esthorsley but nowe depted thence, she standeth wayved uppon the said inditemt.

Rice Flood of Woking in the said hundred and Rob. Albury of Thursley in the hundred of Godalminge were indyted for recusancie XXVI° Rne Elliz. where they are nowe remayning wee knowe not.

Agnes Cobhott of Guildford in the hundred of Wokinge was indyted for a recusant A° XXVII° Ellizabeth where she now remayneth we knowe not.

Wm. Shurlock of Dunsfould in the hundred of Blackheath was indyted for a recusant XXVIII° Rne Elliz. where he now remayneth wee know not.

Richard Markerell of Godalminge was indyted for a Recusant XXVIII° Rne Elliz. where he now remayneth we knowe not.

Mary Stidolphe nowe inhabitinge at Chertsey in the hundred of Godley was prsented to the officiall for a Recusant A° 1590 whome as yet we have not called before us.

Certificates for the year 1591.

Anno Regnei tricessimo quartuor et septem die machii.

Frimley We psente unto yor worshipps that there is no Jesuits, Seamenaryes, fugitives, nor Recusants, but all is well in our tithing.

By me
RICHARD LLOYD CLEARKE.
ANTHONY COW.

Dorkinge Within our parishe we have not yet founde any Jesuit Seminarie priest popish fugitive or recusant.

Your worship's at commandement
STEPHEN RICHMAN
EDWARD SACKVILLE
JOHN WADE
WILLIAM HEATHER

Alfold Wee whose names bee underwritten do certify by these pnte that to or knowledge, there be no Jesuites, Seminaries, fugitives, Recusants, neither receyvers of any such suspected parsons in or parish, as is contened in her Maties comission. In witnes whereof hereunto wee have sett or hands the VIIth daye of Marche anno dni (computaceon anglicana) *1591*

per me GUILIELMO FAWDEN
Rectorem eccliae ibidem
RYCHARD DYDOLFFOLD

Others in the same tenor are written from Peperharrowe, Shere, Haselmer, Westclandon, Wonersh, Wotton, Puttnaham, Seale, Dunsfold, Thursley. Guldeford however report as follows on VII° die Meii 1591:

> "We whose names are undersubscribed do psent that Willm Ridall als Rider and his wife sometymes abidinge in the quenes maties manner house wthin her highnes' psh of Guldeford and sometymes at Send in the same Countie of Surrie are Recusants and have so contynued two years and more."

Reports from Compton, East-Clandon, Horsell have no news of Catholics.

The inquisitors of Frensham think well to show their diligence by saying that whereas they are nuable to find any Jesuits, Seminary priests, recusants or their favorers there is nevertheless one Mr. Garnet "a blynd man who by means of his impotency and age frequentithe not our church."

Bisley, 1592, Stoke no recusants etc.

Easthorsley say "we psent the Lady Katheryne and Sir Bryton whom as yet cometh not to the Churche."

Thursley, Ockley, Abinger, Albury, Ockham, Ash, Stoke—no recusants.

West-Horsleley "did psent one Elizabeth Richebell the daughter of Jeffery Richebell as a recusant for ye contrary to lawe and order she absented her selfe from church. She is now departed or sayde prishe but whether we knowe not, other Jesuite Seminary fugityves or dangerous psons to the state we know none."

Cranleigh, West Clandon, Chidingfold, Durford, Hambledon, none.

Compton again distinguishes itself in the year 1592 by reminding the magistrates that "Mr. Garnet, a blynde man resorteth not to our church by meanes of his Impotency and age."

Egham (in Surrey), Peperharow, East-Clandon (thanks God that all in our parish are conformable to hir majesty's laws), Puttenham, Merstham, Windlesham, Bagshot, Albry, Wanborough, Dunsfold, Abinger, Shere, know of no Recusants.

Ashe present "George Mabanke of Henlye parke and whereas in our other bills we did prsent Roger Brorro: and Thomas Thorpe of Henly parke as recusants, they have of late conformed them selves and doe repayre daylye too our parish churche."

Worplesdon, none.

East-Horsley "we psent ye Lady Katerine and (?) Bryton hyr wayting gentilwomen for not coming to Ch.

Haselmere, Seale, Byfleet, Witley, Ockham have nothing to report.

Earl of Southampton.

Copy of Order from the Queen's Privy Council to Mr. Becher, Sheriff of London to detain the Earl of South. in his house.

> "To be lodged in somme convenient place withe in ye house where he maie remayne without having conference with any and to have only one man of his owne such as he shall make choice of to attend upon him, until you shall understand hir Majesty farther pleaseth. June 16th, 1570."

An original document signed by the Lords of the Council, dated 15th of July, 1570, in which they say:—

> "After our very harty commendations the Queen's Majesty is pleased upon occasion of the sickness growing nearer to your house and for other considerations that the Earl of Southampton shall remove from your custody and delivered into the charge

of Mr. More of Guildford, for which purpose we have written to him to signify hir Highness' pleasure therein. And to inform him of the order which you were appointed to keep with him for the keeping, company and usage of the said Earl which order we have required him to observe. And so we wish you heartily well to fare from Oteland the 15th of July 1570."

"Your very loving friends
(Signed) R. Leycester
E. Clynton
William Howard
F. Knollys
James Croft
M. Cecill

"To our v. lov. fr. Mr. B. alderman and sh. of
the cit of Lon."

On 16th of July Mr. Becher desires More to come for the Earl of Southampton the next day.

Sir William More is much put out at having to keep guard over the Earl of Southampton. He makes great efforts to escape the unpleasant task—but to no purpose. L. W. Howard intercedes on his behalf and in a letter to Sir W. More, dated 9th Aug., 1570, he tells him how much he has tried to persuade the Counsell not to impose this on his friend. The reasons he appears to have urged are the great difficulty that More must experience in exercising his duties as Commissioner since he would be unable to get about the Country as he ought to. Moreover there were plenty of other places where the Earl could be lodged in safe keeping. The vigilance to which the Earl was subjected differed in no sense from that exercised in every prison. A rigorous censorship was exercised over all his correspondence and no one was allowed to have intercourse with him.

The further correspondences are on pages 97, etc.

Vol. IV., No. 1. Loseley.

A *Copy* of the Council's letters touching the Earl of Southampton, 16th June, 1570.

"After or hearty coms. The Queen's Maj. having just cause given her to conceive some displeasure towards the Earl of Southampton hath thought good to commit him to your charge and custody until it shall like her otherwise to determine, for which purpose the bearers hereof have charge to bring him unto you, at whose hands we require you to receive him and to cause him to be lodged in some convenient place within your house where he may remain without having conference with any and to have only one man of his own such as he shall make choice of to attend upon him, until you shall understand her Maj.' farther pleasure. And where you have had now a good time one Cantrell in your charge hir highness is pleased for your better ease that taking sufficient bonds for the said Cantrell for his forthcoming at all times when he shall be called for to answer unto such matter before us as shall be objected against him, you do thereupon set him at liberty and suffer him to depart and so fare you well."

"From Hampton Court the 16 of June anno 1570.

Your loving friends
W. Howard
F. Knollys
Will Cecill."

These words were added more than the letter did continue by Mr. Read, the Queen's Maj.'s servant, who came with the Earl to me.

"Item my said lord should write no letter neither to the honourable counsel neither to any other except I saw the contents of them to be without suspicion as concerns his L. stay.

"Item also that any letter that should come to my said Lord from any person that I should read and the same to be so in like case as aforesaid.

"Item farther that when strangers were out of my house or out of sight that I might permit my said lord to walk in my garden myself being with him either my servant that I might trust in that case as if I myself were present.

"To our Loving friend
Mr. Becher Sherif of the City of London."

Bundle 1380. *Recusancy. Loseley.*

2 copies, one very much destroyed, other in good condition.

Articles annexed to the Commission for a further instruction to the Commissioners how to proceed in execution thereof.

"First, you to whom the Commission shall be brought, shall without delay notify to the rest of the Commissioners that shall be in the County, or that may shortly repair thither, the receipt of the said Commission, with some signification of the contents thereof. And shall require them to meet at some convenient time and place to consider the contents thereof, and thereupon to accord upon sundry days and places in every quarter of the shire ordinarily to meet about the same, so as now at the beginning, the oftener that they shall meet, the same shall be the better; and after your first meeting, you may according to the quantity of the shire, make some partitions amongst yourselves, to execute the commission with more ease: And yet you shall once every forty days for this present year, assemble alltogether to confer upon your several proceedings, so as you may once every quarter give knowledge to her Majesty's Counsel of your actions."

"Item you shall send to the Bishop or Ordinaries of the Diocese and to his Chancellor and Official and to the Archdeacon in the same to certify you of all persons, with their dwelling places, whom they shall know to have been presented to them as Recusants and that do so continue in their recusancey. And the like Certificate you shall require from the Custos Rotulorum, or the Clerk of the Peace and from the Clerk of the Assise of the County, to know such as have been presented and endited as well women as men, and what process hath been set forth against them; likewise you shall by any means inform yourselves of all such as within the County are commonly noted to be receivers and comforters of persons that are suspected to have come from beyond seas, as Seminaries, Priests, Jesuits, or Fugitives, and after that you shall be duly informed by these or any other means of such persons to be suspected, as principal offenders or accessories, you shall retain to your selfe secretly the names of the same, without any application thereof, until you shall afterwards find probable and good cause to warn any of them to come before you, or otherwise to apprehend, and examine them according to the contents of your Commission.

23rd Nov. (1591) *in the 24th of Our reign.*

"Item in your examinations of any persons by vertue of this Commission you shall not press any persons to answer to any questions of their conscience for matters of Religion, otherwise than to cause them answer, whether they do usually come to the Church, and why they do not; and if you shall perceive that they are wilful Recusants, then you shall examine them upon any matters concerning their allegiance to her Majesty, and of their devotion to the Pope, or to the King of Spain, or upon their maintenance of any Jesuit, seminarie priest or other person sent from Rome or from any parts beyond the seas, to dissuade any subjects, from their obedience toe the Queen's Majesty.

"And to give you some particular instruction on what sort you may conceive convenient questions, whereupon to examine persons that are to be suspected to adhere to the Pope, or to the King of Spain, contrary to their duty of allegiance, you may observe the form of these questions hereafter following.

"The question ensuing to be answered by oath by such as shall be verily suspected to have been moved to give assistance to the forces of the Pope or King of Spain, when they shall happen to invade this Realm, whereby such wicked seducers may be discovered.

"Whether have you been moved, by any, and by whom, and when, and by what persuasion, to give aid or relief, or to adhere to the forces of the Pope or King of Spain, when they should happen to invade this Realm, for any cause whatsoever?

"The questions following to be ministered without oath to discover such as shall be suspected to be Priests, Seminaries, or Fugitives, dangerous to the State.

"Whether have you been at Rome, Rheimes, or in Spayne at any time within these five years, when returned you last into this Realm, and to what purpose, and where have you been ever since your coming from thence?

"Be you a Jesuit or Priest made after the Romish order, where and when were you so made priest, and by whome?

"Have you been at the Sems. or Colls. for the English, Welsh or Irish nation, at Rome, Reimes, in Spain, or elsewhere, how long were you in any of them, and when were you last sent from any of them into England or Wales, and to what end?

"Item where by her Majestie's late Proclamation, whereof you shall take knowledge, it is ordered that all manner of psons of what degree soever they be without any exception, Spiritual or Temporal, and so forth shall make particular inquisition of all manner of persons that have been admitted or suffered to have resort, diet, lodging, etc., within the space of one year past, etc., if you shalbe informed of any such person to have beene so lodged or comforted, etc., as in the Proclamn. is at large expressed: in such case you shall require the partie that is appointed to make such inquisition, to deliver the same inquisn. to you in writing, and thereupon you shall doe your best to crie out if there have bene any suspected so lodged or comforted by the said partie appointed to make the inquisns., and him you shall demand to be delivered to you, to bee committed and further used according to his desert.

"Item because the Commission is sent into all other Shires of the Realm, and like instructions annexed thereto as these are, and that you may percase (per casum) be informed of some persons meete to be apprehended or examined, which are gone out of that Sire into some other partes, or doe remaine in places out of the Jurisdiction of your Commission: In such cases we require you to send secretly knowledge thereof to the Commers of the Countries where you shall think such suspected persons doe remaine, requiring them in her Majesties name to use all diligence for the apprehension of such and by such information as you shall give them to examine the parties and to proceed against them according to their Commission.

"Item you shall doe well to make choyce of some persons of honest behaviour and loyall in religion in every quarter of the Shire, and especially in every Post towne, Market towne, or great large parish, and where the Parsons or Vicars are faithfull and carefull over their Cures to joyne together, with charge to observe all such as refuse obstinately to resort to the Church, and such persons you shall call before you, and without dealing with them for their recusancie (for which they are to be otherwise by law punished) you shall (as you shall in your discretion thinke meete respecting the qualities of their persons) require them to answere to the two former questions, or to eyther of them, for that by their recusancie they doe give cause of suspicion to be disloyall in their dueties to the Queenes Majesties, and the state, or to favour the *common* enemies."

These articles are printed on paper and attached to the Commission itself.

THE COMMISSION.

"Elizabeth by the grace of God, Quene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith. To the Reverend Father in God, Thomas Bishopp of Wynchester, And to our right trusty and right welbeloved Counsailor Charles Lord Howard high Admirel of England, to our trusty and welbeloved John Lord Lumley, Thomas Lord Burghe, and likewise to our trusty and welbeloved Will. Howard Esquire, Sir William Moore knight, Sir Frauncis Carewe knight, Sir Thomas Browne, knight Marten Heton, Dean of Winchester, Michaell Reyniger, Archdeacon of Winchester, William Saye, Chancellor to the said Bishop Thomas Vincent, Thomas Lyfeild, Richard Bostock, George Moore, Lawrence Stoughton, John Agmondesham, Robertt Levesey and John Parker, Esquires greting. Whereas of late we have by proclamacion published our determination to appointe certaine Commissioners in every Shire, Cittie, and poste townes, to enquire diligently of the secret repair onto our Realme of a nomber of Seminaries, priests and Jesuits, of malicious purposes to seduce divers of our people from their duty to God and to us, and to renounce their allegiance and to adhere to the King of Spaine and the pope whensoever they should offer to attempt any invasion against our Realms We mineding the execucon of suche our determination and of sonderye other poyntes mete to be executed (as more att large contayned in our said declaracion) and reposeinge great truste in your approved fidelitie Wisedom and good zeale you bear to the quietued of our realme, and to extype the daungerous practises of suche papisticall traitors, have theirfore made speciall choise of you to be our Counsellors giveinge to you or any three or more of you full power, and aucthoritie by all good means as well accordinge to the articles hereunto annexed as otherwise to inquire try search and examine within the County of Surrey and all partes thereof as well within liberties as without, what psons have come from beyond the seas into this our Realm, since the feast of St. Michaell tharchaungell in the two and thirtieth yere of our reigne, or of any other parsons that doe reside in any part of that Countie or elsewhere that probably by their behaviour, and manner of life or otherwise maye be suspected to have come from beyond the seas in the qualitie and vocation of Seminaries preistes Jesuits or fugitives thoughe disguised to hide their qualities and vocation or that are instruments sent by the Pope or by any of the English Seminaries or Colleges to labour to corrupt our people in matter of religion contrary to our lawes established for that purpose or to move or stirr them to adhere to the Pope, the King of Spayne, or any their confederates or dependants enemies to our states and such psons so justlye to be suspected to apprehende and examine straightly of their conversion for some reasonable tyme paste and if you shall finde any of them justlye so upon their examinacons or by lawful accusacons, and proves of others, to be culpable or duly to be suspected of such disloyalties as above is menconed, you shall committ them to prison, and accordinge to the order of our lawes you shall cause them to be pceeded on by waie of indiement and arraignments for the same their treasinable actions to the due punishment of them accordinge to their deserts without contending with them for their conscience in matter of religion otherwise than to cause them to be treated withall charitably and informed for their conversion by discreet psons of good reputation and well learned in divinitie. And in like manner you or any three or more of you shall cause inquisicon, and examinacon to be made as aforesaid of all manner of psons that have heretofore given or shall hereafter give assistance succor or relief, in diet, lodging, pencon, rewarde, or in any other sorte to any of the foresaid malefactors And whereby our lawes the same parsons maye be charged with such unlawfull maynetenaunce or favour, after that they shall have knowledge of the pverse and traitorous qualities of suche malefactors. You or any three or more of you shall also cause them, and every of them to be pceeded withall accordinge to our lawes as bettors aiders and mainteynors of the foresaid principall offenders And for the more speedy execution of justice against all such malefactors accordinge to the qualities of their offences wee doe straightly charge and comaund all our Justices of our Benches all other Justices of the laws our Sergeant, our Attorney, and Solicitor generall, and all other learned in the lawes of our realme, and all other Justices of peace and Officers of justice whose advice you shall have cause to require to be aidinge and assistinge to you, bothe for the Inquisicon, examinacon and orderlye prosecution by lawe against such suspected parsons bothe accessaries and principall so as there be noe delaye nor necligence used but that suche daungerous psons whoe labor by cunninge and color of religion noethinge more than sedicon and treason and the ruyne of all good subjects maie be speedilye suppressed

" As witness whereof we have caused these our of Commission to be sealed with our great seale Witnes our self att Weston the thre and twentith daye of November, in the foure and thyteth yere of our raigne

:powle.

" Commissionaries virtute warranti Regii."

Vol. 5, *No.* 13. *Loseley.*

Draft of letter from Sir Wm. More to Lords of the Council.

Members of Commission not suspect of disaffection in Religion some not resident in the shire and therefore of little use, other names might be added with profit.

4 *Jan.* 1591.

" With remembrance of our duty unto your honourable Lordships, Whereas you have by your letters signified your good pleasures unto us to be advertised whether there be any in the Commission concerning Jesuits lately to us amongst others directed which are known unto us or may be justly suspected to be unsound in religion or which have their wives, children, or any of their families known recusants or do harbour in their houses any person known or suspected to be backward in religion, it may please your Lordships to understand that Sir Thomas Brown Knight, Thomas Lifeld, Thomas Vincent, George More, Ks, Nicholal Saunders, Richard Bostock, Lawrence Houghton, John Agmondesham, Robert Levesy and John Parkers, being those which are joined with us in the said commission and have served already in the execution thereof are well known unto us to be men sound and well affected in Religion to the end and devoted in all duty to the   of her majesty. And where also your Lordships would be informed whether the number of the Commissioners already appointed be not sufficient or not so placed their habitations as they may derive the service by due numbers in other quarters of the County as by the Commission and Instructions is prescribed or whether there be not others resident in that County fit to be imployed omitted in the said Commission and for their dwelling meet to be added and used in this service it may like your Lordships to be advertised that Doctor Heton, Dean of Winchester, Doctor Renegern Archdeacon there and Mr. Saye Chancellor to the L. Bishop of Winchester are not resident within the shire and by means thereof not serving with us we think it fit for the furtherance of this her majesty's service to name unto your L. to be placed in the said Commission, knowing them to be both for soundness in religion and the places of their habitation very meet to be turned with us and employed in the said service. Further we had thought it our duty to signify unto Your L. that my L. Grace of Canterbury and Mr. Wolley dwelling within this County are omitted in the said Commission who being placed therein would give much countenance and furtherance to the said service."

The above document is unsigned, in Sir William More's handwriting.

Vol. IX., No. 52. Loseley..

"Right Worshipful, Our duties remembered unto you, It may please you to understand that we have received your letter dated the 28th of January concerning our Vicar's house and the grief of Mr. Baptist concerning our Vicar's entry into his own (as we nothing doubt the proof thereof) although the proof resteth in Mr. Baptists.

" And Whereas your worship hath moved Mr. Baptist for our quietness to keep the matter out of Law ; and that it should be judged by four learned men ; two for him and other two for Mr. Vicar's right. We like very well of it and give you most humble thanks for your careful care of our Vicar and as your poor neighbours.

" Whereas you will us to bring such proof as we can of our Vicar's right, our proof resteth in old men of the parish and Town, which men for the most part of them are not able to travel on horse, considering their years and the time of the year. There is none of them that speaketh of their knowledge under three score years for six or seven of them. We have no way to bring some of them but by wagon ; the which provision we have not neither can come by so soon as you have willed us to be there ; for we know not where to get any wagon or other provision to bring them so soon.

" Wherefore if it may please you to move Mr. Baptist for a longer time that we may conveniently get some carriages as we may bring them, we will do it with willing minds. Or else if it may be to sue out commission to examine our witnesses here in the Country either to join with Mr. Baptist or sue it of ourselves which way it shall please him, we are content. For there are many of our witnesses weak men of body by reason of years. Notwithstanding if you like not of this motion, upon the return of our messenger, we will make the best shift we can, and bring up some of them, then shall we have them behind that can speak farthest into the matter (which we doubt will hinder us). If it please your worship to like of this course, if Mr. Baptist do not let him prosecute the law and he shall be answered for, we doubt not but the right will be found in our Vicar whether it be tried by law or otherwise.

" From Godalming, this last day of January 1578, Your Worship's to command.

" John Brodfold, now warden with the rest of
his assistants by the consent
of the whole parish.

" To the Right Worshipful
Sir Willm More Knight
at the Blackfriars give this."

Vol. 149—61. *Rec. Office.* Dom. Eliz.

"Exemplar cuuisdam Epistolae, quam Sacerdos quidam Angliis in arce Londinensem sanctae Catholicae Religionis causa iam detentus ad fratres Catholicos in aliis Carceribus propter eandem religionem Catholicam detentos nuper misit; cui etiam subiungitur brevis quidam declaratio, de dura immanitate ac plane barbara crudelitate, quam in aliis carceribus, longe a civitate sejunctis alii Reverendissimi Patres sunt simili ratione perpessi.

"Dominum Shyruium (Sherwin) Sacerdotem novis tormentis se subjecturos deinde ipsum cum sociis e medio sublaturos nuper minati sunt. Verum ille paratum potius mortem ob fidem Catholicam obire, quam vitam diuturniorem ducere expetens, eiusmodi minis nihil prorsus deterrebat, Quid de nobis fiet, brevi ut spero intelligemus. Praestaret quidem multo nobis debitum naturae semel solvere, quam quotidie moriendo languescere; nullus tamen nostrum sic est, qui a Deo Opt. Max. summopere non cupiat nos dignos effici omnem cruciatum, omnia tormenta, imo Mortem ipsam, naturae aliaque acerbissimam, pro nominis sui gloria potius perpeti, quam Suam Div. Maiestatem contra propriam conscientiam vel in minimo offendere. Patet opinor ac multis cognitum est complures ex afflictis nostris poenas attrocissimas, quas prae doloris magnitudine mortem quam superant pertulisse, constanterque sponte durasse, prius quam foedissimo peccato consentirent, cuius quidem rei testes sunt Kyrbeus (Kirby) inprimis et Cottonus, duo Venerabiles Sacerdotes, qui ferreo cuidam tormento (Anglici vocant Scavingers Schavingkers nuncupatur) subiiciebantur eiusque pressuram acerbissimam-horam integram, aut eo amplius passi sunt. Aii videlicet Dom. Skinirus (Skinner), D. Brianus (Brian) bis D. Jonsonus vero semel torturis exquisitissimis (Anglici vocant the Rack) probati crudeliter fueruent D. Alartus per tres horas in tormento praedicts expansus iacebat. Verum aliter aut gravius pro eo tempore non torquebatur, atque ad hunc fere modum ceterorum sociorum nostrorum pars non sine nutu aliquo majori, probata tum tractata fuit. Quidam in specum quemdam profundissimum, densissimisque tenebris ex omni parte circumclusum conjecti erant in-quorum fuerunt Jonsus Bryskens (Johnson Bristow), Brianus (Briant) omnes Reverendi Sacerdotes, quorum alii huius loci squallorum ad duas integras menses persenserunt. Aliis autem, pecunias omnes una cum veste superiori demerunt, eosque omni spe ac auxilio sic destitutos, in angulos quosdam abditos ac obscuros sine lecto aut aliis necessariis quibuscumque detruserunt. Ita egerunt cum Stanislao Bryskoro (Bristow) ac aliis. Pars maior ad hunc usque diem in carceribus squallidis ac subobscuris seorsim custoditur, ubi nec aliquem aliquando vident, multo minus cum familiari aliquo loquuntur. D. Brianus de quo ante dixi, fame per aliquot dies confectus ac fere enectus fuit, tandem ad sui doloris maius incrementum aculeis quibusdam acutissimis sub illius unguibus violenter intortis atrocissime (Ah miser) cruciatur. Ex his quae scripta sunt, carrissimi in Christo fratres, in promptu est, quae et qualia tormentorum genera filii Dei ac veri Christi servi pro fidei orthodoxae firma defensione patienter passi sunt, maioraque si ita res postulat subire libentur sunt parati. Tantum illud a sua misericordia petimus, ut nobis patientiam et perseverantiam usque in finem pro sua benignitate nobis concedat. Quod ut citius consequi possimus, vestras ad Deum preces pro nobis vehementer imploramus, sic non sine aliqua formidine, eo quod arcis huius praefectus heri sunt hodie ad curiam, ut quid de nobis statuerunt certo sciat, uti arbitramur est evocatus. Vos bene valere iubeo. Catholici in portu sive Castro Hullensi incarcerati, in camerata custodia detinentur. Ut non liceat cuiquam eos invisere, nedum eis quicumque subministrare. Ultra septem asses per septem hebdomadas non acceperunt, praeterea ad vitae victusque sustentationem aliud non habent, praeter panem et cerevigiam ac modicam salsi piscis portionem, quae illis a quadragesimali tempore restabat, Carnes a festo Paschali hactenus non degustarunt. Pro una (one quart) Cerevisiae quarta septem asses (sive Anglicanus denarios) solevere cogentur, tum quod valde inhumanum est, aqua ad eorum necessitates supplendas illis denegatur, nisi eiusmodi quae putrida sit, velint acceptare. Captivi Catholici Urisbiensis protusi, pari crudelitate tractantur, Reverendus D. Yongus Sacrae Theologiae a multis annis Professor vitam cum morte feliciter commutavit. Erat non multis ab hinc diebus meretrix quaedam scurrarum quorundam opere in Rimi. Episcopi Lincolniensi cubiculum (nam et ipse illic incarceratus manet) inverecunde introducta quae omni muliebri pudore abjecto, hunc senem virum, senio pene confectum ad nequitiam et turpem libidinem omnibus modis sollicitavit. Prae verecundia taceo quibus illecebris, haec virago usa est quo eum a perpetua castitatis constantia deduceret cui senex pius fortiter resistens dum hanc impudicam belluam foras expellere totis viribus operam dedit, nebulones pessimi, qui istam adduxerunt Reverendissimo Seni verbera minabantur. Alia quoque meretrix, Venerabilem Sacerdotem D. Voactum octogenarium pari arte

intromissa fuit, quae absque longa mora revertentes alta voce continuo excamavit me violneter vitiare conatus est. Dnus. Jesus Sua divina gratia nobis adsit, quo sub euis protectione commorantes, has afflictiones, haec omnia tela diaboli ignitus possimus extinguere, in eoque tandem fortiter superare.

Dom. Eliz., Vol. 147, *No.* 49. Palavicino to Walsingham.

Illmo. sigor. mio.

" Benche la forzata mia partenza dicosti fussi colpegno che v.s. Illme mi diede di dover in mio nome ringratiare sua mta del favore fattomi verso Monsignore nella causa di mio frattello, non posso nondimeno lasciare di supplicarla che si raccordi-di farlo, e con parole tali che in buonaparte significhino l'affetto del animo col quale Il cuor mio la ringratia ad ogn'hora : cosi io mi ne riposo sin che habbi l'occasione di farlo in stesso.—D'Artois intendo che le gente che alla sfilata arrivano in quelle provintie non sono sin hora che supplementi degli Albanesi e Ittaliani nella cavaleria, alincontro di quelli che la guerra e il tempo per giornata consuma. In Lucemborgo arrivano qualche reitri, et percio v'era andato Il conte di Mansfelt, e non posso intendere che vi fussi alcun disordine. Il principe di Parma-si tiene in Tornay. Il cui governo ha dinegato alli piu principali che lo ambivano e chiedevano, non vi ha voluto dentro alcun valore e quando andó a Namur vi lascio Il mondragone per governatore ancorche sapesse mali à molti, cresce ogni di piu d'autorita perche le migliori ville volentieri si ubidiscono, e sempre confidano esperano meno nelle nobili del paese, ne quali non trovano sicuro pressidio, ma non ancora resta da quelle provintie consentito che entrino infanteria ittaliane o spagnuole, se ben la cosa si pratica nelle consigli particolari, per doverne ben presto venire alla risolutione Generale. Di Spagna venivano continui danari, es si sente che quivi vigilano per quanto e possibile alla condotta di quegli affari. Di Roma quelcapitolo contiene, che il papa al presente non pare che pensi o speri di poter tavagliare cotesto Regno da se o con inteligenza d'altri principi per via di guerra aperta e meno ancora per via d'Irlanda. Ma si vede che attende grandemente ad accrescere e aiutare per ogni via questo Collegio di Giesuiti Inglesi di doni mandano costa, sperando per questa via mantenere quelli che costi sono del loro humore, e tenerli disposti alle occasioni che si presenteranno. Percio dona loro grosse rendite, e gli favorisce straordinariamente. Me se costi gli trattano, come si dice, non dovera trovar molti che interprendano

il viaggio. V. S. Ilma cavi dalle sudette parole il construtto che le parra cheve sia ch'io stima superfluo fargliene discorso. Le bascio le mani pregando Iddio che la conservi.

" Di Londra a 10 di febraio 1582.

" di V.S. Illma

" Servo affemo.

" Horatio Pallavicino."

Indorsed—Al Illmo. sigor mio Ill. S^or^ Francesco Vualsingham Cons. te primo secrio. di S.Mta Serma.

Bundle 1329 (*II*) *Miscellaneous Papers, Loseley.*

" Dominus noster Jesus Christus qui dedit discipulis sus potestatem ligandi atque solvendi, Ipse te absolvat auctoritate Die Omnipotentis et Beatorum Apost Petri et Paul, nec non Sanctae Matris Ecclesiae atque auctoritate papalis indulgentiae in hac parti mihi concessa et tibi, ego absolvo te ab omni irregularitate et sententia excommunicationis maioris, vel minoris, jure vel homine tibi inflicta ; atque etiam ab omnibus criminibus, excessibus et peccatis tuis contritis confessis ac oblitis, et ab omnibus casibus sedibus Apostolicis reservatis. Restituo te unitate fidelium et sacramentis Ecclesiae—ac in illam innocentiam et puritatem in qua eras quando baptizatus fuisti remittendo tibi omnes poenas purgatorii propter culpas et offensiones quas contra Deum et proximum tuum commisisti et plenariam remissionem atque indulgentiam omnium peccatorum tuorum in quantum claves Ecclesiae se extendunt in hac parte tibi do et concedo. Itaque sis absolutus hic et ante tribunal Domini nostri Jesu Christi, habeasque vitam eternam, et vivas in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

" In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti."

The above is indorsed by another hand, probably that of Sir Wm. More, " Diabolica absolutio."

Bundle 1329 (*II*) *Miscellaneous Papers, Loseley.*

" Anglia lethali malesana sepulta sopore,
Evigila tandem lumina pande tua.
Auditur tonitru, resonat vox grandis ab Austro,
Atque aquilo reboat, turba cruenta crepat.
Coelum, terra, fretum, tibi cuncta horrenda minantur
Adsunt irato tela cruenta Ioni.
Auster clamat omnis, septentrio pondus omnisque,
Incumbunt humeris pondera multa tuis,

Vincula, flamma, rotae, tormenta, cruenta flagella
Postis, fasciculi, firma catena, cruces.
Fumabit fabrilis agerque focumque parabit,
Sanguine nunc iterum fertilis esse cupit.
Nunc ululato viri, Lutherani, Calviniani,
Plangite, namque brevi tempore messis erit.
Nam vane relicta
Petri, sulcatis flumina nigra stygis.
Quae nunc Anglia dicta est
Carmina measta cane.
Et tu qui toties clamas Taratantara Praeco,
Et Shalom, Shalom, ter canis atque Shalom.
Fasciculi tua membra manent, te fomite pingui
Flamma petit, Celsi carula templa Jovis.
O vos barbatos ex fraudis semine natos,
Flenturosque scio, qui cecinistis Io.
O curios simulate, anoque incumbite fulvo,
Stertite cum mundo molliter ossa cubant.
Plangite adhuc miseri Simonis avara propago,
Accusas Romam, pessima turba, piam.
At si profuturum liceat cognoscere lignum,
Tum Sodoma victa est, Anglia vicit eam.
Ridiculus Clerus puerorum turba ministrat,
Ecce sacerfotum χρήματα sola parante.
Cuius fama vivi non est carbone notata ?
Infamis tota est Anglia.
Omnis religio ἐν τοις ἀνθρωποισιν ὀλώλεν,
Cessat et (blank in MS.) sacra Deo.
Non estis digni coelum spectare ηωνωπες,
Μηδ᾽ εσιδειν αὐγὰς ὄξεος Ηελεου.
Omnia languida τουτ᾽ ανοιας εσι φρηναγμα,
Omnia frigescunt, dogmata, dicta, patres.
Ha he quam saeva est iam βατραχομυομαχια ?
Hic cupit, ille rapit, singula vendit, emit,
Aulicus hic turget procerum bene perfricat aures,
Mille sacerdotiis orros onustus abit.
Spes tamen effulget, nam qui quadrata rotundis,
Mutavit, nunc vir tetragonatus erit.
Undique quadratus procedit Rabbi rotundus,
Romanique gerit symbola sacra Jovis.
Hos ego quadratos facerem vel non capitatos,
Si modo vis animo suppeditaret opem,
Quid dicam ? Oxonii nulla est correctio morum,

Omnia confuso turbine mota ruunt.
Nulla est Ecclesiae facies, nullusque saecerdos,
Nulla Romanae sedis Idea manet.
Vos tamen interea sanctae pia fulchra cathedrae,
Surgito, certus adest aureus ille dies.
Nobilis Austriacus princeps caput extulit altum,
Aemulus est Gallus, cantat adesse diem.
Italus, Hyspannus, Duacenses, Lovanienses,
Et nos formicas nostris habere χολω
Hoc ergo Haereticos istos male tangit et angit,
Vix audent nostris verba severa dare.
Plaudite Catholici, qui Petri jura tenetis,
Plaudite, certus adest aureus ille dies.
Plangite et Haeretici, pilei lugete rotundi,
Plangite, maestus adest funeris ille dies
Contemnere duces Bristoni fulmine
Consentire solet, qui tacet atque silet.
Non poterunt sese motori opponere tanto,
Nam tremit in manibus penna maligna suis.
Interea Bristone precor cantate triumphum,
Mallens hareti ἡῶν hoc tibi nomen erit.
Anglia lethali malesana sepulta sopore,
Evigila tandem lumina pande tua."

Bundle 1329 (*II*) *Miscellaneous Papers, Loseley.*

" Quid enim an non ita fuit ? An vero haec ipse fingo ? Aut oratione exaggero ? Recognosce acta tua, et illud primum. Cum tu iam Archiepiscopus, et regni primas a Summo Pontifice recens factus atque in eius verba juratus contra fidem, contra jusjurandum ad eius Auctoritatem abrogandam consensisti Nonne tu in consilium impiorum abiisti ? Postea vero nonne in via peccatorum stetisti, atque in derisorum Cathedra sedisti-cum causam divortii inter regem et reginam, quae causa coram summo pontifice agebatur, ad te revocasti ? Proque ea auctoritate, quam tibi primus impie arrogaveras, utrimque citasti ? Reginam vero, quae causae suae equitate nitebatur cum pronuntiata iniquissima sententia contumeliose dismisisses : regi ipsi quo maiorem verbis honorem habebas, hoc reipsa gravius illudebas. Quid enim aliud nisi illusio fuit ? Cum pluribus enim hortabare ut (quod ipsum constabat omnibus modis conari) uxorem a se dimitteret ? Deinde quasi diffederes hoc te illi persuasurum, additis censurarum minis, nonne magis ei illudebas, quem scirent omnes nullo non divinarum humanarumque legum metu, ut dicimus, retineret, adduci posse ? Quid vero an non ipse ridebas cum tanquam severus judex Regi minas intentares ? Equidem haec in quodam scripto legeo quod consilii regii nomine tunc exierat lacrimas tenere non potui. Cum principem illum, quem unice amarem et colerem, eo adductum viderem, ut ei non solum impune liceret illudere, sed ipso etiam hoc jubente atque adeo premium proponente. Tua vero ista illusio, quam pestifera, quam exitiosa patriae tuae fuerit, satis ea declararunt, quae statim sunt consecuta. Quid enim mali non invexit ea sententia quam ipse pro tribunali sedens tulisti ut rex uxorem legitimam, qua cum prole suscepta amplius viginti annorum conjunctissime vixerat, dimitteret seque communi omnium matre ecclesia abjungeret ? Quanta inde bonorum cedes, quot spolia ecclesiarum, quanta clades nobilitatis, quanta populi iporessio consecuta est ? An unquam in ullo regno tam brevi tempore, tanta tamque perniciosa facta est legum omnium jurisque commutatio ?

" Quorum tu quidem malorum omnium es reus, qui portam regi qua ab ecclesia exiret aperiens spirituales nequitias ad eam in hoc regno vastandam ac penitus evertendam intro duxisti quare si clamarem ad Deum ut sanguis servorum suorum totque scelerum poenas de te sumerent ? An non juste clamarem ? Quod profecto facerem si haec tantum spectarem ; sed cum ad sanguinem ejus qui mortem pro salute impiorum pertulit mentem cogitationemque converto, cogor tantisper vocem continere dum quid illius voci respondeas quae est vox misericordiae, intelligam. Quae vox si ad aures tuas pervenire poterit, gaudebo, et ut possit omnes modos quaero ; unus autem est quo jam uti cepi ; ut ea tibi mala in mente redigerem quae illa, quam tibi contra ecclesiae leges arrogasti, auctoritas in hoc regnum intulit ; Quae quis secum animo reputans existimet te (qui praeter ceteros, ambitione et superbia Deum offenderis cum novam opinionem doctrinamque de maximo religionis nostrae misterio proponis). Unum plus omnibus sapere in his cognoscendis, quae prudentibus et sapientibus sunt abscondita solis parvulis revelantur. Quanto verius putandum est te minus omnibus sapere, et si quam antea, cognitionem habueras, eam malitia et peccatis obcecatam perdidisse ita sane factum est atque haec est justitiae divinae ratio, ut qui Deum cognoscentes non sicut Deum glorificaverint, tradantur primum in desideria cordis (quod tibi accidit, cum honores et divitias quas cor tuum desiderabat, acquireras) deinde in passiones ignominiae (quod item tibi evenit, cum contra ordinis tui decus contra ecclesiae leges, concubinam uxoris loco haberes). Quae cum ita essent, quid aliud sequebatur nisi ut in sensum reprobum tradereris? Et sane hic ille sensus est, quo Corpus et Sanguinem Christi contra perpetuum ecclesiae piorumque omnium sensum, negas in Eucharistiae Sacramento in esse, in quo ostendis quam longe ab eorum pietate absis, ad quam ut redire possis, hanc potissimum rationem viamque tibi proponemdam duxi, ut tecum cogites, ut queras quid feceris, quo pacto vixeris, quo aditu ad gregis Christi curam sis ingressus, utrum per ostium an per fenestram. Quod si ad hoc munus ob eam rem, te vocatum inveneris, ut foedam hominis libidinem iuris nomine ac specie pretexeres, quis dubitet quin per ostium non sis ingressus? Ecquis ante ignorat te ob hanc unam causam archiepiscopum esse factum, qui ante cum paucissimis notus esses, nulli magis ignotus eras quam illi qui hunc honorem tibi detulit. De quo tantum aberat ut ceteri cogitarent ut ne tibi quidem ipsi in mentem venire posset, alia via nisi hac in ovile Domini intrare posse ad officium primi pastoris in hoc regno fungendum. Idque quis ambigat non per ostium sed per fenestram vel potius per cuniculos te tanquam furem ac lactronem intrasse? Intrasse autem ut mactares, ut perderes quemadmodum rei eventus ostendit, cum per te Christi gregis in hoc regno major facta sit strages quam ab ullo unquam alibi vel aperto christianae religionis hoste. Haec velim ipse tecum recognoscas ut carcere inclusus et capitis judicium jam subiturus non te ipse excuses, sed condemnes, et cum latrone illo qui una cum Christo in cruce suffixus fuit, dicas nos digna factis recipimus simulque Dei Filio pro te crucifixo misericordiam implores, quod si feceris jam tibi veniam paratam video cuius consequendae haec una reliqua est via, et ratio, quam scilicet ob causam, ea nunc ipse commemoravi, tibique ob oculos posui, quae in conspectu omnium per te sunt admissa, nec vero illud ad te excusandum quicumque valet te neminem mactasse, sed benignum facilemque erga omnes fuisse. Hoc enim audio a quibusdam de te predicari, sed nesciunt quid dicant, nec tu quidem fortasse nosti an quemdam occideris, quia neque hoc animo in ovile Christi sis ingressus nec postquam ingressus fueris tibi conscius sis ullius sanguinem appetisse. At hic conscientiam tuam decepit Satan qui etsi homicida fuit ab initio, quotidieque homines suo consilio occidat: tamen si causa ei ad hominum tribunal dicenda esset, facile etiam apud eos quos occidit probaret longe se ab hoc crimine abesse qui nihil cuiquam persuadeat nisi ea quae homini in hac vita jucunda sunt, quae quisque maxime appetit quaeque ad vitam cum voluptate, traducendam in primis faciunt. Quid enim Satan proponit nisi honores, nisi opes, nisi voluptates, nisi denique omnia quae vitam jucundam, ac plane beatam efficere videntur? Quod si haec defensio Satanam ab homicidii culpa minime liberat, nec tibi quidem proderit qui eius minister fuisti ad libidinem et cupiditatem regis explendam in turpi mulieris amore, in honoribus non legitimis, in divitiis atque opibus injuste comparandis quo tu etsi mortem eius non appetebas tamen hac ratione crudelissime omnium necasti, et per eum quam plurimos alios. Hoc enim veneni genus ei porrexisti cui nulla humana ope occurri potest: idque fecisti cum has illius cupiditates juris specie tegeres; in quo sane eius animum per libidinem magis corrupisti quam si leno impudicus mulieres ad eum deduxisses. Quod vero ad rapinas attinet, magis quam si comes et dux ad apertum latrocinium fuisses. Hoc enim flagitiorum et facinorum genera, facilius per poenitentiam corrigi possunt, quod fieri quotidie videmus. At quo delictis recti et iuris species ac nomen pretentitur, id vero poenitentiam prorsus excludit, et salutis spei aufert; quemadmodum regi tum accidisse videmus, maxime cum ipsius ac totius regni calamitate: Haec autem nunc commemoro ut intelligas (si modo per poenitentiam Deus tibi oculos aperiat) qui tu sedulus minister fueris, operum tenebrarum minister libidinis in amore turpi, minister ambitionis in alieno honore occupando, minister injustitiae, in alienis bonis rapiendis, te minime idoneum ministrum et doctorem esse posse, ac ne discipulum quidem eius veritatis, cuius intelligentia etiam evangelica intellectum superat.

“ Haec si tecum ita reputes teque tot tantorumque flagitiorum et facinorum tuorum auctor fuisti exanimo poeniteat tum quidem faciliorem tibi exitum e carcere tenebrarum in quo jam diu es inclusus et aditum ad lucem ac veniam reperias. Tibi una haec est reliqua ad veritatem percipiendam et salutem consequendam via, quam nisi ingressus fueris, frustra tu quidem vel in scripturis sacris vel in aliis libris dogmatum Christianae religionis veritatem quaeris, frustra alii qui te ab errore et falsis opinionibus avocare student laborent.

“ Quare hoc te primum admonitum volui ut si quando Deus det tibi poenitentiam, ut a laqueis diaboli resipiscens evadas tunc locus aliquis detur ad ipsam lucem veritatis aspiciendam cum ceteris in rebus tum in hoc, de quo nunc agimus, misterio Corporis Christi, quod in Sacramento altaris esse negas, utque ita credas, te ipsius scripturae verbis, adduci predicas. Ego vero quid agendum tecum ne disputem? Id quidem facere si hac ratione tibi me prodesse sperarem, at quid sperem cum videam nihil tibi profuisse quae cum alii permulti tum vero Johannes Fisherus episcopus Roffensis, vir sanctissimus, atque doctissimus, hac ipsa de re egregia scripta reliquit nihil Oxoniencem disputationem nuper habitam, qua quidem ad tuam utilitatem suscepta, non modo ab errore non es abductus, sed in eo obfirmatior atque obstinatior factus.

"Quod sane non culpa eorum accidit qui tibi lucem veritatis afferre studebant: sed quo maior oblata lux est hoc minus ab egris occulis ferri potuit, teque magis excecavit.

"Quod ergo ego qui ad te nunc scribo, si recusem tecum disputare quo pacto id assequi potero, quod in primis opto, ut te qui nisi primum argumentis vincaris, sententiam nunquam mutaturum profiteris ad lucem veritatis producam?

"At non ego id profiteor, hoc eius est qui lucem creavit, eamque a tenebris divisit. Meae partes sunt viam quae eo ducit ostendere, quod magna jam ex parte feci, cum te ad cognitionem eorum quae dividunt inter te et Deum, id est peccatorum, quibus Deum graviter offendisti, teque ab eo seiunxisti et ad poenitentiam atque devinam misericordiam implorandum hortatus sum. Ad quae si hoc adiunxero ut tibi fontem ostendam, erroris tui in prava ista perversaque de veritateque Corporis Christi sententia simulque Deum pro salute tua precarem quod (sane ex animo, facere non desisto) tunc quidem meum munus explevero.

"Tuus autem hic error inde manat unde Saduceorum heresism Christus ortam affirmat cum ait 'erratis nescientes scripturas et virtutem Dei.' Ideo enim scripturas nesciebant quia virtutem et potentiam Die nesciebant, nam cum resurrectionem mortuorum negarent, non tamen Scripturas negabant sed prave interpretabantur; in hunc enim errorem inciderunt, propter ignorantiam potentiae Dei in mortuis excitandis. Idem nunc de te dici potest, et de his omnibus qui negant sacerdotis benedictione, et verbis Christi, panem et vinum in eius corpus et sanguinem converti, ut eum apud Ezechielem (Ezechiel Ca. 37) prophetam est scriptum de ossibus illis in amplissimo campo late disparsis, cum Deus ab eo quaesisset 'fili hominis, putasne ossa ista vivent,' atque ille respondisset: 'Domine tu nosti,' Et Deus: 'Vaticinare de ossibus istis et dicas, ossa arida, audite verbum Dei, Ecce ego intromittam in vos spiritum, et vivetis, et dabo super vos nervos et succrescere faciam super vos carnes, et superextendam in vobis cutem, et dabo vobis spiritum et vivetis, et scietis quia ego Dominus. Haec Deus ad prophetam qui ex eius precepto, vaticinatus addit: 'factus est autem spiritus prophetante me, et ecce commotio, et carnes ascenderunt, et extenta est cutis desuper, et spiritum non habebant et dixit: 'Vaticinare ad spiritum': haec dicit Dominus; A quatuor ventis veni spiritus, et suffla super interfectos istos; et prophetavi sicut preceperat mihi; et ingressus est in ea spiritus, et revixerunt.

"Haec apud Ezechielem quae ad mirabilem vim et potentiam Dei in mortuis excitandis declarant, quam qui ignorant in hunc Sadduceorum errorem labuntur, ut resurrectionem mortuorum negent simulque ostendunt se Scripturas ignorare. Eodem modo eandemque ob causam falluntur, qui negant panem et vinum, prophetante sacerdote, et verba Christi proferente, in verum ipsius Christi corpus et sanguinem converti, quia sequentem virtutem et potentiam Dei ignorant. Ut enim de ossibus illis dictum est ad prophetam: 'fili hominis, putasne ossa ista vivent?' Ita ex sacerdote quaeri potest, cum panem et vinum ante occulos habet, 'putasne haec in Corpus et Sanguinem Christi convertentur?' Atque ille merito ut propheta respondere potest: 'Domine, tu scis.' Nec enim quisquam est hominum qui hoc scire possit ac ne Angelorum quidem virtutem intellectum hoc superat, sed vim et potentiam Dei non superat. Igitur quod Ezechiel dixit: et factum est, prophetante me et verba Dei dicente ad ossa illa, quae arida erant atque dispersa, conjungerentur et vitam per spiritum reciperent. Idem etiam de pane et vino quae a Sacerdote consecrantur, dici potest, ea per virtutem Dei, et potentiam spiritus in Christi corpus et sanguinem converti, hanc Dei potentiam qui ignorant nec scripturarum sensum in hac presertim re intelligere possunt. At dices te neque mutationem hanc videre, sicut Ezechiel commutationem ossium per nervos et juncturas in spiritu vidit; neque (ut Deum id posse credas) tamen hoc necessitem afferre credendi id ab eo fieri. Quam multa enimvero sunt quae potest Deus facere, quae tamen non facit: itaque qui tuam velit hac de re opinionem refellere non hoc ei argumento esse intendendum ut esse ostendit Deum posse sed ex scripturis docendum velle. Neque enim te Dei potentiam sed voluntatem negare, quam si quis ostenderet, omnem statim controversiam sublatum iri. Ego vero quid afferam, ex quo Dei voluntas hac in re tibi nota atque explorata sit? Unde eam exquirem? Unde eliciam? An ex scripturis? Hanc enim illae quidem continent; per eas quae placita sunt Deo, nobis revelata sunt. At quibus nobis? Non omnes enim qui scripturas legunt de voluntate Dei, omnibus in rebus inter consentiunt; siquidem eas alii aliter interpretantur; neque ulla de re magistrorum est dissensio, quam de sensu scripturarum, ut in hac ipsa re de qua nunc agimus. Quo ergo nunc confugiam?

Quem interpretem quaeram? Quem alium vocamus quamque Ecclesiam de qua Deus cum vellet eam filio in conspectu gentium tamquam sponsam ungere, dixit: 'Non amplius vocaberis derelicta, sed vocaberis voluntas mea in ea.' Vides quem voluntatis suae interpretem, Deus habere nos quo semper confugere velit: tui quidem ita plane voluntatem suam aperit ut de illa dicat: 'Et vocaberis voluntas mea in ea.' Haec vero ita perspicue voluntatem Dei hac in re ostendit ut nulla pars orbis terrarum sit cui non eam declaravit. Cuius rei si testimonia requiris iam inde ab Apostolorum temporibus usque ad hanc diem omnium etatum testimonia afferri possunt. Qui enim ubique pietate et intelligentia scripturarum praestiterunt ac munus docendi sustinuerunt, omnes quasi unius vox esset, quasi cor unum et anima una ita hac de re inter se consenserunt, ut cum de reliquis fere omnibus, fidei et religionis articulis aliae aliis temporibus excitatae sunt contentiones et controversiae, neque in hoc magis quam in ceteris cavillationis locus esset, tamen nullae annorum spatiae, in tot consiliis, quae ad extirpandas hereses sunt habita, ne mentio quidem alicuius heretici inveniatur qui de veritate corporis Christi in sacramento Altaris unquam dubitaverit. Post millesimum vero annum, ut ante dixi, cum res in controversiam a quodam diacono Andegavensi vocaretur, ita eius opinio a multis piis et doctis viris oppugnata fuit (in primis a Lanfranco Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi) ut is palinodiam canere coactus fuerit. Quid ergo nunc maius in hac causa testimonium concensus Ecclesiae et voluntatis Dei quae illi revelata est, dare potest, quam perpetuam tot annorum silentium? Et sane singulari Dei providentia ita factum videtur, ut nemo palam in Ecclesia hanc veritatem oppugnare unquam sit ausus, quoad mille annorum silentio corroborata fuisset quasi hoc significaret Spiritus Sanctus Qui Ecclesiam regit, si qui postea Satanae impulsu hac ipsa de re controversiam excitaturi essent, eos vel hoc uno argumento tot annorum atque etatum consensus convinciendos fore, quo certe nihil majorem vim habere debet apud eos qui non plane superbiae elatos se ostendant, ut plus uni sapere velint quam omnes qui ante in ecclesia extiterunt. Cum his vero opera ludetur quacumque oratione quibuscumque rationibus aut argumentis agatur. Quod si tu plus sapere unus velis quam omnes, qui per mille annos hanc sententiam quam nos defendimus tu oppugnas, secuti sunt, tum quidem frustra tecum loqui videor. Quid vero reliquum est nisi ut aut istam arrogantiam profitearis aut neges hanc tot annorum consensum? Quod si facias haud difficile sit ostendere collectis singularum etatum testimoniis. Qui tamen labor minime est necessarius cum inde et alii multi ante, et nuper doctus vir Cuthbertus Tunstallus episcopus Dunellensis fecerit, ut tuam et tui similem pertinaciam hac in re convinceret. At hoc te consensu convinci non pateris, verum ad scripturas provocas, et argumenta quibus et si vincaris, sicut proxime es victus in disputatione Oxoniense, sunt ante etiam a docto et acutissimi ingeni viro Stephano Gardinero episcopo Wintoniensi in eo libro quem contra tuum scripsit, tamen te nunquam victurum fateris cum semper scripturas tecum facere contendas. Quod quid aliud est quam non solum eos qui nunc sunt Catholicae doctrinae professores sed omnem antiquitatem insciam scripturarum condemnare eorumque intelligentiam tibi praeter ceteros omnes arrogare. Quod quidem ut superbiae sic etiam ignorantiae scripturarum certissimum iudicium esse debet. Nec enim quae in his traduntur superbis sed humilibus revelentur; illis enim Deus resistit his autem dat gratiam. Quos vero Apostolos superbiae notat equidem justitiae damnat, cum dicit eos nihil scire sed languere circa questiones et pugnas verborum. Tui autem langoris quod magis argumentum afferri potest quam quod eam rem in questionem et controversiam revocas, de qua nemo qui de fide recte sentiret unquam dubitaret. Hunc vero langorem ex vitio superbiae longe gravissimo existere nomine id maxime indicat quod in ea parte scripturae, quae doctrinam maximi misterii religionis nostrae continet, tibi uni plus intelligentiae arrogas quam tota Ecclesia per mille annos vel potius ex quo constituta est, ad hanc diem, habuerit? Nec enim ullus unquam verba Christi in hunc sensum quem tu sequeris interpretatus est praeter illos qui ab universa Ecclesia impie recesserunt, meritoque damnati. Quid ergo hic faciam? Alia ne argumenta conqueram ut ostendam te non intelligere scripturas? Hoc enim uno tibi tamquam clava Herculi erepto tota sequens tua causa concidet. Ego vero ut initio dixi scio te ob id errare quod scripturas ignoras et potentiam Dei, quae eadem est hereticorum omnium erroris causa, ut Christus Sadduceorum errorem confutans significat. Verum si neque hactenus ego dixi nec quae ab aliis item contra allata sunt sufficiant quo pacto tuam hanc ignorantiam ut perspicias assequarem. Hoc quidem primum faciam ut Deum Patrem Unigeniti eius filii mortem praestet ut per universam suam misericordiam occulos tibi et aures aperiat, quo veritatis vocem audias et justitiam suam agnoscas quod si verbis etiam tentandum erit, ne id quidem facere negligam. Atque illud tibi primum conabor explicare quid sit scripturas intelligere; hoc enim scio te ignorare, qui praeter ceteros earum tibi intelligentiam arrogas. Is autem scripturas intelligit qui consilium Dei in eis novit; sicut legem intelligit qui consilium legislatoris ac voluntatem novit, quam juris periti animam legis vocant. Atque hoc illud est quod Apostolus significat discipulos suos monens cum ab illis discederet: 'Omne consiliam Dei notum feci vobis.' Quod idem valet ac si diceret: 'Clavem scientiae tradidi vobis.' Et regulam operum utrumque enim habet, qui Dei consilium in verbo eius noverit. Novit autem is qui verbi novit potentiam, et ideo Christus cum Sadduceis dixisset: 'Erratis ignorantes scripturas,' addidit: 'et virtutem Dei,' quae scz. per verbum se ostendit, quam qui ignorat verbum etiam Dei ignorat. Hoc vero si paulo obscurius fortassis est dictum, sic planum facium ex ipsius Pauli verbis qui de verbo crucis loquente, potentiam eius ostendit. Cuius quidem summa haec est ut perdat sapientiam sapientium et prudentiam prudentium reprobet, hoc autem Dei consilium ut ipse Paulus dicit: nemo novit nisi id Spiritus Dei revelaverit, ut nemo novit quae sunt in homine nisi spiritus hominis: 'Sic,' inquit, 'nemo novit quae sunt Dei nisi Spiritus Dei, cui Spiritus Dei revelaverit. Hoc autem consilium nobis revelatum est, cum per eos qui primum donum Spiritus acceperunt, et Christi doctrinam ex ipsius ore hauserunt, tum etiam per illum qui cum in terris cum Christo versatus non esset raptus est usque ad tertium coelum, ubi arcana illa verba audivit, quae effari non licuit, quae vero enuntiavit, ea sane omnia ad consilium Dei in Christi doctrina explicandum pertinent. Quod eo scz: spectat ut perdat sapientiam sapientium et prudentiam prudentium reprobet; sicut ipse in Epa. ad Coros. docet, quia non cognovit mundus per Sapientiam Deum, placuit Deo per stultitiam praedicationis salvos facere credentes. Ecce Dei consilium, in homine servando quod ipse postquam homo peccavit ita exequi cepit statim ut quia is per sapientiam suam perierat, Deum non agnoscens, ut scz: eum glorificaret, seque ei gratum praestaret: nonnisi per illud quod stultum videtur homini servaretur, quae nimirum est verbi Dei et Crucis Christi victoria."

Probably 1555.

Dom. Eliz., Vol. 149, *No.* 51.

"Epistola v. D. Gulielmi Alani rectoris collegii Anglorum in Gallia ad patrem D.P. rectorem collegii Anglorum Romae.

"Ex Anglia accepimus per litteras P. Roberti Personi v. societatis, persecutionem perseverare in eodem furore adhuc et

Catholicos rapi ad carceres et varie vexari et patres societatis diligentissime quaeri, singulari tamen Dei providentia sunt adhuc liberi. Unus ex ipsis eodem cubiculo P. Robertus non ita pridem invasus fuit sed ipse Pater tunc non adfuit. Quidam autem Bryantus qui fuit alumnus collegii nostri Remensis in quodam propinquo cubiculo habitans captus quoque fuit et bis in equuleo tortus est crudelissime, idque eo consilio, ut ubinam ille Jesuita esset aperiret, verum tamtum abfuit ut de hac re significaret quicquam, ut tortores irrideret et dolore licet fere enectus, diceret ' hoccine totum est, quod potestis, si nihil aliud sit squuleus, accedant huius rei causa centum alii.' Postridie Johannes Nicholaus, ille apostata, P. Tirello Collegii v. alumno obviam dedit in platea, quem simul ac vidit proditorem exclamavit, et hoc modo eum comprehendit; verum ille non in turrem, sed in alium carcerem vlugo Gatehouse coniicitur, atque ibi ille et pater Rishtonus, Collegii quoque v. alumnus cum gaudio degunt. Catholici vel alacriores vel ad petiendum paratiores numquam antea fuerunt.

" Biduo ab hinc cuptus est quidam D. Jaisonus (Irisonus) decem ex apologiis nostris penes se habens; unde factum est, ut Libros illos consiliarii viderint, ipse autem pristino suo habitaculo nempe quodam carcere volgo Fleet, unde prius amicitiae ergo dimissus fuerat, iam iterum detinetur.

" Praedictus Johannes Nicholaus hereticus iactat se habuisse prolixam orationem Romae coram Cardinalibus cum nihil minus verum, quam in secundo suo libro iam in lucem edidit, et simul pollicitus est se hunc priorem latine versum evulgaturum addito quodam de peregrinatione libello, in quo maxima homicidia, et adulteria catholicorum, pessimam et vitam Jesuitarum et studiosorum fuse explicabit. Is jam publice Londini concionatur, sed illius iam omnes satieatas cepit brevi itaque, ut auguror, se in pedes coniicet, presertim, vero ubi illa abiuratio haeresum quam Romae in inquisitione fecit, in Angliam pervenerit, accepi enim autenticum illud a vobis missum in quo tota sua recantatio continebatur, et apud P. Robertum in Angliam misi, expetit P. Robertus tria vel quatuor millia aut plura ex testamentis cum illa a multis desiderentur, dicit se summe desiderare et expectare pluries socios vestri ordinis et dicit omnia ibi recte procedere et Apologiam nostram valde probari.

" Mitto cum istis litteras ad S. Pontificem, et ad Il.-Protectorem quas illis tradendas curate. Ago enim suae Sti gratias pro huius anni multiplicibius beneficiis, nempe pro fundato collegio Romano Anglico, pro nostro hic stabilito in 15 annos, pro extraordinario nuper subsideo 500 aureorum pro tali dato utrique Protectori et praecipue quod non adhibuerit aurem Collegiorum et missionum detractoribus, qui ad excusationem ingaviae et timiditatis suae causantur frustra ista omnia in patriam nostram tentari, doceoque satis strinsse (struisse ?) incredibili utilitate istas missiones, et conatus Patrum ac Collegiorum fieri tandemque assevero atque audacter pronuncio ex opinione sensu et experientia bonorun omnium Patres et Sacerdotes plura Animarum lucra hoc uno anno fecisse in Patria sua, quam idem uspiam in orbe terrarum per totum vitae spatium et longissimum facere potuissent. Scribo et pericula non esse tam gravia ut hoc *officium deseri debuerit cum ex* 50 *hoc anno ad minimum ex* utroque collegio missis non ultra decem inciderint in manus hostium, et patres omnino hucusque liberos esse et frugem facere. Postremo ostendimus libros a nobis ea moderatione verborum esse scriptos, ut nihil allatum esse indignatione, sed potius misericordiae procuratum propter ingentem utilitatem quam omnes ordines ex ipsorum lectione capiunt. Ista quidem Pontifici. Illustrissimo vero Protectori illud tantum scribo, ut avertat aures ab otiosis et invidis quibusdam hominibus, qui Patrum et Collegiorum officia dicunt esse in patria nostra inutilia, obsecrans porro ipsum per Christum, ut nolit prohibere me ne proximo Autumno 5. aut. 6, iuvenes mittam ad illud collegium significans nostrum ita excrescere numero, ut a nobis nullo modo ali queant, licet sua sanctitas extraordinario 500 aureorum dono nos sublevaverit ita ad illum ego N. R. B. subvereor contra expressam praemonitionem aliquos mittere, ne videamur vel immorigeri, vel nimium abuti P. liberalitate. Cogimur hoc tempore 20 nobiles magna ex parte invenes Duaci accercere ad collegium hoc nostrum Remense, qui alioquin deberent redire in Angliam ad manifestam animi et corporis perniciem cum propter hoc edictum non habeant ex Anglia pecunias, praeterea venerunt ad me ex Angila (heu me) supra 20 invenes intra 14 dies ct ubi habebimus panes, ut manducent hi ut unusquisque vel modicum accipiat, ne deficiant in hoc exilio. D. Deus benedicat et multipliat nobis cibos.

"Hac septimana intellexi, patres non solum bene valere in Anglia, sed ita occupatos in Vinea ut non mihi scribere potuerint, et P. Campianus dicitur librum latine edidisse ad utramque Academiam Hortatoriam, sed non venit ad manus nostras hactenus. Vide P. si promoveant opus an non ? Litteras R.P. Generalis iam pridem misi ad ipsos. D. Jesus mittat multos tales operarios in messem suam. 30 Presbyteri ad minimum sunt ingressi Angliam post Pascha, nec eorum quisquam fuit in portu impeditus, aut postea captus, sit benedictus Deus. Erit hic annus, ut spero, faustus undique nobis, in lacrimis seminamus sed in Domino confido, quod cum exultatione portabimus manipulos per Deum et hunc Gregorium fratrem vere nostrum.

"Est apud me hoc ipso tempore summus fratrum ac presbiterorum in Anglia comes et patronus D. Georgius Gilbertus quique ipsorum causa passus est rapinam pene omnium bonorum et possessionum et quem haeretici ipsum personaliter persecuti sunt prae coeteris cum eius opere conservari, et sustentari Patres societatis scirent. Concessit huc in Galliam R. P. Roberti et aliorum consilio, ut se servaret *ad illud tempus*. Veniet Romam in Autumno volente Deo atque de se disponet secundum consilium Reve. P. Generalis et Vestrum. Is mihi narrat summe desiderari plures Patres vel hoc solo nomine, ut aliquid sublevetur P. Robertus quem dicit incredibile onus portare. Scripsit illos duos elegantissimos libellos ipse per se cum antea alter putaretur esse a P. Campiano vel alio scriptus, concionat continus, resolvit Casus Conscientiae hominum innumerabiliorum. Catholici in mediis positi persecutionibus habent conscientias minus timoratas quam ullo alio quod sciam loco, et ita sunt in Patres affecti, ut nullius vulgaris sacerdotis iudicio acquiescant, nisi adhibito P. Roberti iudicio. Habet ipse septem homines continuo laborantes in praelo, *quod habet constitutum extra Londinum, ne rumore illius. machinae obaudetur* in urbe, continuo interpellatur a Nobilibus etiam et a quibusdam Consiliariis propter necessaria consilia, et ita mihi narrat ipse D. Gilbertus individuus eius per totum hunc annum comes, quique in discessu P. Roberto reliquit septem equos ad necessaria sacerdotum et patrum itinera et negotia obeunda, summamque vim pecuniae ad necessarium rerum apparatum, nempe cartae (Chartae), praeli, caracterum, atramenti et similium, nam magnae res non possunt fieri nisi magnis subsidiis, oportetque homines summe pecuniarum contemptores, pariterque divites, qui talia opera insigniter procurant. P. Campianus non est minus in sua provincia industrius et putantur esse 20 *millia catholicorum plura hoc anno*, quam praeterito ; nec uspiam iis annis D. dedit verbum evangelizantibus maiorem virtutem et fructum. Sit nomem eius benedictum in aeternum.

"Nostra apologia, ut audio, versatur in manibus tam adversariorum, quam amicorum, et illius amplissimae legationis

Galliae Princeps, qui vocatur P. Delphinus dedit eam legendam Reginae, Christus Jesus, &c. Remis 23 Junii 1581. V.R.P.

"Aeternus uti spero in terra et in coelo confrater.

"Gulielmus Alanus."

Dom. Eliz., Vol. 230, *No.* 104.

"JESUS MARIA

"Ex litteris P. Roberti Southueli Societatis Jesu. datis Londini, Matii 8° 1590.

"Frequentes ad nos litteras dedimus, sed ut nuper intellexi rarae ad nos pervenerunt ob impiam cuiusdam fraudem de qua a P. Gulielmo accipietis. In mediis adhuc periculorum iactamur et sane non parvo in discrimine, in quo tamen Dei gratiae erepti hactenus incolumes sumus. Una omnes magno nostra in voluptate consueta Antiqui foederis instaurationem iuravimus dies aliquot mutuis exhortationibus ac colloquiis occupati aperuimus ora et spem attraximus. Videbatur ego mihi nascontis in Anglia religionis Catholicae incunabula contemplari cuius non mittentes semina imus et flemus. Ut venientes alii veniant portantes manipulos suos, cantavimus tamen canticum Domini in terra aliena, et in deserto hoc suximus mel de petra oleum de saxo durissimo sed extrema huius gaudii luctus occupavit et subitis terroribus dissipati maiori ut eventus probavit periculo quam detrimento evasimus. Ego et è nostris alter dum Scillam vitamas, incidimus in Charybdim, Utrumque tamen scopulum insigni Dei beneficio pretervecti nunc in portu navigamus. Comprehensus est nuper preter alios sacerdos quidem nomine Christopherus Bales e comitatu Dunelmensis (Durham) Romam primum postmodum Rhēm collegii alumnus. Is 24or horas integras manibus suspensus extremis tantum articulis terram attingentibus misere excruciatus est, cumque plurimis illum questionibus fatigarent, unum hoc ad omnia respondit, sacerdotem Catholicum se esse ad animas in ovile Christi revocandas venisse, nec aliud sibi in animo aut votis fuisse unquam. A. Bridevelo olim meritricū et circumcellionum, nunc vero Catholicorum carnificina in alium carcerem adductus, ibi in eodem cubiculo cum heretico puritano positus est. Unde paulo post ad tribunal vocatus eo nomine capite damnatur quod sacerdos cum esset pontificia auctoritate initiatus in Angliam venerit. Urgebant hominem an Papae liceret Reginam deponere, ad quod ille, eam esse in papa potestatem ut principes iustis ex causis deponere possit, respondit. Cum vero iam sententiam in eum dicturi essent querebant de more haberetne quidquam quod pro capitis sui salute posset afferre. Unum iniquit a vobis rogatum velim, fuitne B. Augustinus a Gregorio 2° olim in Angliam missus, proditor ac lesae maiestatis reus an non ? Non fuit, inquiunt. Cur ergo, ait, ab sede eadem in finem eundem missum huius criminis reum asseritis cum mihi nihil possit, quod non potuisset etiam Augustino obiici? At illi ad haec nihil, praeterquam, tolle, crucifige. Cum ad locum supplicii de more super ligneam cratem traheretur, psalmos cecinit, Ad patibulum cum ascendisset ; Absit inquit mihi gloriari nisi in cruce Domini Nostri Jesu Christi. Et elevatis manibus in coelum se signo crucis munivit prout vinctis manibus potuit : Venistis, ait, ut hominem videatis morientem, commune spectaculum, ut Sacerdotem nec id insolitum, et sicut corpus intuemini, ita utinam et intimos cordis affectus et animi quem sortietur exitum videre possetis, certe profecto non minus tunc mihi et compaterimini et congauderetis quam modo infensis animis mala imprecamini. Omnibus ex animo ignosco et ab omnibus mihi ignosci cupio. Deinde rogans ut pro eo Catholici omnes orarent (haeticorum, n, suffragia ei haud profutura dixit, praecit) se dedit et paulo post vultu ac mente intrepida, mortem fortiter et constanter subiit, passus est feria 4a Cinerum in regia quadam Londini platea quae omnium est frequentissima plurimis etiam haereticis pietatem ac constantiam viri laudantibus.

" Carnifex vero cruentatis, in istius cede et dissectione manibus ad alterum laicum illum quidem, sed probatum virum excarnificandum in aliam plateam festinat. Hic quod favisset sacerdotibus et sua eos ope tenasset morte mulctatus est. Ante mortem cum in tetro et obscuro Carcere acsensam habent candelam in umbrae sae capite coronam ex umbra formatam vidit, ille capite manus admovens, et quod talem efficeret umbram sentiens nihil obambulat, ut animadverterit an ex situ corporis illud viderat contigisset. Ambulanti quoque idem apparet, euntem sequitur, ac sistente consistit, et sic ad horam integram, capiti veluti affixum diadema, ut futurae gloriae specimen conspicitur. Hoc ille paulo ante martirium piae cuidam feminae indicavit.

" Hormetis homini nomen fuit, et non minori quam alter constantia insignae victoriae palmam adeptus est, huius nimirum tanquam verni imbribus ecclesiae ager irrigandus fuit, ut in stellicidiis humōi laeteretur germinans. Expectamus et nos (nisi forte indigni tanto honore simus) quando veniet sicut

mercenarii dies noster. Interim dominationis vestrae ac coeterorum omnium preces enixe rogamus ut pater luminum reddat nobis laetitiam salutaris sui spiritu principali confirmet nos.

" Martii 8° No. D. 1590

" Vrae diminationis studios.

" Robertus Southuelus."

Indorsed. " This relation was translated into Spanish and presented to all the grandees of Spain to make them conceive that the number and persecution of the Catholics of England was great."

Letter of James I. to the Earl of Somerset.

" First I tak God the searcher of all hairts to recorde that in all the time past of ydle talk I never knew, nor could out of anie observation of myne find anie appearance of anie such court faction as ye have apprehended ; and so farre was I ever from overseeing or indirectlie feeding of it (if I had apprehendit it), as I protest to God I would have runne upon it with my feete, as upone fire, to have extinguished it, if I could have seene anie sparkle of it. As for your informations, ye dailie told me so many lyes of my self that waire reported unto you, as I confesse I gave the lesse credit to your reporters in other things, since ye could not be an eye witnesse of it yourself. Next I take the same God to record that never man of anie degree did directlie or indirectlie lett fall unto me anie thing that might be interpreted for the lessening of your credit with me, or that one man should not rewle all, and that no man's dependance should be but upone the King, or anie suche lik phrase, quhiche if I had ever found, then would I have besturred my self as became both so great a king and so infinitelie loving a maister. Thirdlie, as God shall save me, I mente not in the letter I wrotte unto you to be spairing in the least jote of uttering my affection towards you, as farre as yourself could requyre ; my differing frome your forme in that pointe being onlie to follow my owne style (wch I thought the comeliest) : so as then having delivered my mynde as fullie to Maye as ye could have wished,—having wretten this letter,—having quyte turned my countenance from Grahme, the lyk whairof I never did to any man without a knowin offense,—I having receaved your nephew in my bedde chamber, the facon thairof being done in a needlesse braverie of the Queene, I did surelie exspect that the ydle talk would weare out lyk the Pope's cursing (especiallie seeing my owne hairt knew it to be without a grownde). For I am farre from thinking of anie possibilitie of any man ever to come within many degrees of your truste with me, as I must ingenuouslie confesse ye have deserved more trust and confidence of me than ever man did,—in secrecie above all fleshe, in feeling and unpartiall respect, as well to my honour in everie degree as to my profite; and all this without respect ather to kinne or allye or your neerest or deerest freind quhatsomever, nay onmoveable in one haire that might concerne me against the quhole world; and in these points I confesse I never saw anie come towards your merite; I meane in the points of ane inwardlie trustye freind and servant. But as a peece of ground can not be so fertill but if ather by the owin naturall rankness or evill manuring thairof it become also fertill of strong and noysome weedes, it then proves uselesse and all together unprofitable, even so these before rehersit worthie and rare pairts and merites of yours have bene of long tyme, but especiallie of late, since this strange phrenesy took you, so poudred and mixed with strange streames of unquyetnes, passion, furie, and insolent pryde, and (quhich is worst of all) with a setled kind of indured obstinacie, as it choks and obscures all these excellent and good pairts that God hath bestowed upone you. For although I confesse the greatnesse of that trust and privacie betwix us will verie well allowe unto you an infinitelie great libertie and freedome of speeche unto me, yea even to rebuke me more sharpelie and bitterlie than ever my maister durst do, yet to invent a new art of railing upone me, nay to borrowe the toung of the devill, in comparison quhairof all Peachem's book* is but a gentle admonition, that can not cum̃e within the compasse of anie libertie of freindship. And do not deceave your self with that conceat that I allowed you that sort of licencious freedome till of late. For as upon the one pairt it is trew yee never passed all limites thairin till of late, so upone the other I bore, God Almightie knowis, with these passions of yours of olde, dissembling my greif thairat, onlie in hope that tyme and experience wold reclame and abate that heat quhich I thought to weare you out of by a long suffering patience and manie gentle admonitions; but the circumstances joyned to the† maid them relish ten tymes worse to my taist then otherways they wold have done if they had onlie remained in puris naturalibus of passions. For first, being uttered at unseasonable houris and so bereaving me of my reste, ye was so farre from condamning your owin indiscretion thairin, as be the contrairie it seemed ye did it of purpose to greive and vexe me. Next, your fyrie boutades were coupled with a continuall doggit sullaine behaviour towardes me; especiallie shortlie after my fall, though I gave you a farre contrarie proof after your fall, and in all the tymes of your other diseases. Thirdlie, in all your dealings with me ye have manie tymes uttered a kynd of distrust of the honestie of my freindship towards you. And fourthlie, quhich is worst of all, and worse then anie other thing that can be imagined, ye have in manie of your madde fitts done quhat ye can persuade* me that ye meane not so muche to hold me by love heirafter as by awe, and that ye have me so farre in your reverence as that I darre not offende you or resiste your appetites. I leave out of this reckoning your long creeping bakke and withdrawing your self from lying in my chamber, notwithstanding my many hundreth tymes earniste solliciting you to the contraire, accounting that but as a point of unkindnesse. Now whether all your great pairtes and merites be not accompanied with a sowre and distastefull sawce, yourself shalbe juge. Consider likeways of the difference of the things that ye laye to my charge and that I lay to yours. Heir is not he said and shee said, no conjecturall presumtions, noe things gathered out of owtward appearance. I chairge you with no thing but things directlie actit or spoken to my self. I wishe at God thairfore, and I shall both pray for it and hoape it, that ye may mak good use of this little mirroure of yourself quhich heirin I present unto you; it is not lyk Sir Walter Rallies description of the kings that he hates, quhomof he speaketh nothing but evil;† for this layes plainlie and honestlie before you both your best and worst pairts.

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* "There is now one Pecham, a minister of Somersetshire, in the Towre for that and a worse quarrell, having written seditious discourses under colour of petitions to the last parlement," &c. Chamberlain to Carleton, 5th January, 1614-5. (S.P.O.)

† So MS.; a word has apparently been omitted: perhaps "same."

"To conclude then this discourse proceiding frome the infinit greif of a deeplie wounded hairt, I proteste in the presence of the Allmightie God that I have borne this greif within me to the uttermost of my abilitie; and as never greif since my birth seazed so heavilie upone me, so have I borne it is long as possiblie I can; nather can I beare it longer without committing ane unpardonable sinne against God in consuming my self willfullie, and not onlie my self, but in perrilling thairby not onlie the good estait of my owne people, but even the estait of religion through all Christendom, quhich all most quholie under God lyes now upone my shoulders. Be not the occasion of the hastening of his death through greif, who was not onlie your creator under God, but hath manie a tyme prayed for you, quhich I never did for no subject alyve but for you. But the lightening my hairt of this burden is not now the onlie cause that makes me preasse you indelayedlie to ease my greif; for your owne furious assaults of me at unseasonable houris hath now made it knowen to so manie that ye have bene in some crosse discours with me, as thair must be some exteriour signes of the amendment of your behaviour towardes me. These observations have bene maide and collected upone your long being with me at unseasonable houris, lowde speaking upon both pairts, and thair observation of my sadnes after your pairting, and wante of reste.

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* So MS.

† "Sr Walter Raleigh's booke is called in by the Kinges commaundment for divers exceptions, but specially for beeing too sawcie in censuring princes." Chamberlain to Carleton, 5th January, 1614-5. (S.P.O.)

"Quhat shalbe the best remedie for this I will tell you by toung. But for the easing of my inward and consuming greif, all I crave is that in all the words and actions of your lyf ye may ever mak it appeare to me that ye never think to hold grippe of me but out of my meere love, and not one haire by feare. Consider that I am a freeman, if I waire not a king. Remember that all your being, except your breathing and soule, is frome me. I told you twyce or thryce that you might lead me by the hairt and not by the nose. I can not deall honestlie, if I deal not plainlie with you. If ever I finde that ye think to retaine me by one sparkle of feare, all the violence of my love will in that instant be changed in as violent a hatred. God is my juge my love hath been infinit towards you; and the onlie strength of my affection towards you hath maid me beare with these things in you, and brydle my passions to the uttermost of my abilities. Lett me be mette then with your entyre hairt, but softened with humilitie. Lett me never apprehende that ye disdaine my persone and undervalue my qualities; and lette it not appeare that any pairt of your former affection is cooled towardes me. A king may slakke a pairt of his affection towards his servant upone the pairties defaulte and yet love him; but a servant can not do so to his maister, but the maister must haite him. Hold me thus by the hairt; ye may build upone my favour as upone a rockke that never shall feall you, that never shall wearie to give newe demonstration of my affection towards you; nay, that shall never suffer anie to ryse in anie degree of my favour, except they may acknowledge and thank you as a furtherer of it, and that I may be persuadit in my hairt that they love and honour you for my saik (not that any living ever shall come to the twentie degree of your favoure). For although your good and hairtlie humble behaviour may washe quyte out of my hairt your bypast errors, yet shall I never pardon my self, but shall carie that crosse to the grave with me, for raising a man so hye as might mak one to presume to pierce my eares with such speeches.

"To make ane end then of this unpleasant discours, think never to value your selfe to me by any other merites so much as by love and hairtlie humble obedience. It hath ever been my common ansour to anye that wolde pleade for favour to a Puritane minister by reason of his rare giftes, that I had rather have a conformable man with but ordinarie pairts, than the rarest men in the world that will not be obedient; for that leaven of pride sowres the quhole loafe. What can or ever could thus trouble your mynde? For the exteriour to the world, what can any servants exspect of their prince but countenance or reward? Do not all court graces and places come through your office as Chamberlane, and rewards through your father-in-lawe's that is Thesauraire? Do not ye two (as it waire) hedge in all the court with a manner of necessitie to depende upone you? And have ye not, besydes your own infinite privacie with me, together with the manie offices ye possesse, your nephew in my bedde-chamber, besydes another farre more actif than he in court practises? And have ye not one of your nerest kinsmen that loves not to be ydle in my sone's bedde-chamber? With this shuld ye have silenced these newes-bringers and makers of frayes. For no other thing is left behind but my hairt, quhich ye have nather cause to doubte, nor, if it did need, could they counsell or advyse you how to helpe.

"Thus have I now sette down unto you quhat I wold say if I waire to mak my testament; it lyes in your hand to mak of me quhat you please, either the best maister and trewest freind, or, if you force me once to call you ingraite, quhich the God of Heaven forbidde, no so great earthlie plague can light upone you. In a word, ye may procure me to delyte to give daylie more and more demonstrations of my favours towards you, if the faulte be not in your self."*

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* *Lambeth MSS.* 930, 90. Docketed, "ADRIAN MOORE, JHONE HOLLAND These three letters weare in the black boxe signed with that seale wch Sir Tho. Maye brought." The MS. is not divided into paragraphs.

Bundle 1566, *Loseley.*

"Si quis enarrare conetur quanta paucissimis mensibus facta sit hac pene tota inferiori Germania mutatio non tantum in fide et religione sed etiam in tranquillitate publica, obedientia erga civilem magistratum, Justitia civili, commerciis publicis, et omni genere et exercitatione mechanicis non tantum apud posteros sed etiam apud exteros qui tranquillimum statum huius regionis aliquando viderint, fidem non obtinebit nisi forsan diligenter attenderit quantum momenti in gubenatione Reipublicĩ habeat impunitas scelerum quae cum jam aliquot annos apud nos viguisset tandem per eos consummata est qui se Geux, Scurras excogitato nomine vocaverunt. Nam cum a sua celesitudine omnem inquisitionis ac regiorum edictorum contra hereseos abolitionem in Aprili extorsissent statim in Junio nescio a quibus evocati sunt e Geneva metis et aliis pluribus locis infectis plurimi errorum novorum ministri qui a nonnullis civitatibus tanto applausu suscepti sunt ut ad unam concionem procul a comitatibus octo decem aut quatuordecim millia hominum convenirent cum que initio nescio an dissimulando an potius fovendo et promovendo negotium dormiri videretur, sumptis armis suos concionatores palam in potentissimas quasque civitates introduxerunt non tantum magistratibus sed etiam propinquis civitatibus incutientes timorem. Quo factum est ut mercatorum alii sese ab emporiis reciperent, alii nihil auderent emere, omnes si quam heberent pecuniam imminentibus periculis illam reservarent et sic cessaret omne commercium, ac proinde etiam plurima artificia civitatum. Cumque jam dicto malo nullum adhiberetur remedium, in Augusto res ad eam rabiem venit ut ruptis coenobiorum et templorum portis in pluribus civitatibus ac pagis conculcata et contrita sunt Sacramenta, altaria omnia suffossa, vestes sacrae direptae, imagines combustae, et quidquid ad Dei cultum et ornamentum templorum pertinebat confractum et contritum. Item cenobia spoliata, dirupta, contrita, et monachi explosi ita ut in habitu seculari coacti sunt fugere, et in civitatibus longo tempore cessaverit omnis divinus cultus, et cesserit hereticis concionibus ex quibus nonnullae postea permissis concionibus hereticis; in quibusdam templis cultum consuetum restituerunt, aliae vero in sua miseria perseverent, ut Valencene et Busioducis. Civitates autem in quibus perpetrata est manifesta confusio sunt haec. In Flandria, Ipre, Gandavium, Aldenardum, Cortratum, et aliae plures in occidentali Flandria quarum nomina mihi non occurreunt cum multis pagis vicinis. In Brabantia Antuberpia, Mechlinia, Liira, Buscoducis, Breda, Ludovia, Turnhoudt cum multis pagis et Abbatiis ut Abbatia S. Michaelis Antoberpiae, et St. Bernardi prope Hantoberpiam, Postel et aliis quibusdam in Campinia, In Hannonia Valencene et Angia cum Abbatia Viconien Hañon et Crispīvēn. *In Artesia nulla civitas hanc confusionem passa est quod sciam, sed vastata est Abbatia Mariniensis. In comitatu Namurcen et Ducatu Luxenbūrgēs puto nihil actum. In Geldria audio predicari in Bommel et omnia confracta in Ruremonda—de ceteris nondum audivi. Aliquid etiam actum est in Frisia. In Trajecto superiori predicatur strenue sed nondum audivi violata esse templa. In Trajecto inferiori vastata sunt templa parochiarum, sed quinque canonicorum templa per eos armis defensa sunt. In Hollandia vastata sunt omnia. In Amsterdamis, Deelst, Leiidis, Vianen, Culenburgo et plurimis aliis ut puto, sed credo nusquam peius agi quam Buscoducis quamquam etiam Valenchenis res valde male habeat. 17 Octobris Antoberpiae tentaverunt quidam rursus confringere altaria venerabilis Sacramenti et Altare B. Mariae quae ad celebrandum in majori ecclesia utcumque restituta erant, sed comes de Hoochstraten et duo burgimagistri civitatis supervenientes cum manu militari alios occiderunt, alios vulneraverunt, plures etiam apprehenderunt, ex quibus postridie sex publice suspensi sunt, et ceteri adhuc decem in vinculis teneri omnes; quae res nonnihil spei nobis prebet quia ab initio turbationis vix in tota Brabantia audivimus factum ullam institiam. Rex dicitur cito venturus, sed, an adhuc pedem moverit nescimus. Intelligimus tamen multis locis militem conscribi quos ad cohibendos rebelliones putamus in adventu eius preparari. Bruxellis non defuerunt qui publice petiverint habere erroris ministrum sed conscriptis militibus ita eis hactenus restitum est ut nihil obtinuerint. Lovaniis valemus ut solemus hoc solo dempto quod universus clerus principio per nationes ad tempus egerit excubias in armis propter minas externorum hereticorum qui se nunc vocant Geux, sicut in Gallio vocantur Hugenoti. Nam cum desperarent se posse contaminare templa omnia minati sunt incendere civitatem. Sed laus Superis, hactenus nihil passi sumus nisi quod iam a mense praeter octo milites quos promotori iunximus et praeter duodecim quos civites partim pretori partim suo burgimagistro addidit conduximus communi sumptu universus et civitatis adhuc ducentos milites qui clerum et cives a quotidianis excubiis sublevent, et nihilominus adhuc septimo quoque die etiam ipsi in equali numero cum honoratioribus civibus qui sunt de magistratu agimus excubias super domum civicam. Licentiati vero et alii eiusdem dignitatis cum aliis civibus bini in portis civitatis ad discernendum et describendum qui quotidie ingrediantur et egrediantur civitatem : tam tandem remitto sarcinam Revent Tomam Mr. Nicholaus et Joannes obit per quos remittenda sunt hactenus fuerunt in Hibernia unde a paucis diebus reversi sunt, nec tamen de vestro reditu ad Archiepiscopatum aliquid certe mihi dicere potuerunt. De subsidio quod Regia majestas vestratibus pro studiis persequendis suppeditatura putabatur hactenus nihil audivi nec verisimile est in tantis difficultatibus aliquid futurum nisi res Reverendissimo conquensi cordi sit quod non fit mihi verisimile. Mr. Richardus nuper bursarius Collegii nostri diu captivus in Anglia detentus est postea tamen liberatus est carcere nec interim de illo quidquid audivi. Spero Reverendissimun reversum esse et pro nobis apud Deum quotidie devotas preces fundere cui et me et miserabilem reipbae : calamitatem de animo commendo.

" Lovanii 22. Octobris Anno 1566.

" Rme. atque Illustme R,—Rector enns.

" MICH. DE BAY."

Note.—*The Rev. Bonaventure Sodar, O.S.B., of the Abbey of Maredsous (Pr. Namur), thinks that " Mariniensis " in this letter stands for " Morinensis," as there is no such name in Artois. It would thus be question most problbly of the Abbey of St. Augustine of the Premonstratensions, near Théronanne, commonly called " S. Augustini Tarvanese cœnobium." Thérouanne was the ancient " Morinum." It was almost entirely destroyed under its twenty-seventh Abbot, Robert Picart (1546-1559). But the historians of the order think that its destruction was rather the crime of the French Governor of Thérouanne than a direct result of the wars of religion.

APPENDIX II

A SUMMARY OF THE LAWS AGAINST CATHOLICS

In Jacob's Law Dictionary there is a naïve remark on the word *Papist*. We are told that this word "seems to be considered by Roman Catholics themselves as a nick-name of reproach." Notwithstanding this, the writer of the article on "Papists" adopts the name as the chief title for all Catholics, and he repeats it in very nearly every sentence of his long and interesting treatise. It is very much the same kind of offensive language that is used by many otherwise well-meaning Protestants even in these days when they insist on speaking of Catholics as Romanists and the Catholic Church as Romish. These are nick-names to which all Catholics strongly object and no one should use them unless he desires to offend against good manners.

However, having entered this protest which, unfortunately, is even now only too often needed, I will give an extract from Jacob's article as it is a most admirable summary of the penal laws from the time of Elizabeth up to the reign of George III. It is not generally known in this country how terribly were Catholics, or Papists as they are here called, ground down, crushed and bled of all their susbtance for a period of over three hundred years.

Anyone who chooses to consult the Dictionary will see that the writer was of opinion that these laws were "absolutely necessary for the preservation of our constitutions." He was no partisan of the Church and therefore his summary may be taken as accurate and reliable when he states the case of the persecutor.

> "1. By various statutes, if any English priest of the Church of Rome, born in the dominions of the Crown of England, came to England from beyond the seas, or tarried in England three days without conforming to the Church, he was guilty of high treason; and they also incurred the guilt of high treason who were reconciled to the see of Rome, or procured others to be reconciled to it. By these laws also Papists were totally disabled from giving their children any education in their own religion. If they educated their children at home, for maintaining the schoolmaster, if he did not repair to church, or was not allowed by the bishop of the diocese, they were liable to forfeit £10 a

month, and the schoolmaster was liable to forfeit 40s. a day; if they sent their children for education to any school of their persuasion abroad they were liable to forfeit £100 and the children so sent were disabled from inheriting, purchasing, or enjoying any lands, profits, goods, debts, duties, legacies, or sums of money. Saying Mass was punishable by a forfeiture of 200 marks; hearing it, by a forfeiture of 100. See Stats. I Eliz. C. 2; 23 Eliz. C. 1; 27 Eliz. C. 2; 29 Eliz. C. 6; 35 Eliz. C. 2; 2 Jac. I. C. 4; 3 Jac. I., CC. 4; 5; 7 Jac. I., C. 6; 3 Car. I., C. 2; 25 Car. II., C. 2; 7 E. 8 W. 3, C, 27; 1 Geo. I., st. 2, C. 13.

"By stat. II E, 12 W, 3.C. 4, where the parents of Protestant children are Papists, the Lord Chancellor may take care of the education of such Protestant children, and make order for their maintenance suitable to the ability of the parent.

"2. Under this head are to be classed those laws which are generally called the Statutes of Recusancy. It should be observed that absence from church alone and unaccompanied by any other act, constitutes Recusancy, in the true sense of that word. Till the Stat. 35 Eliz. C. 2, all non-conformists were considered as Recusants, and were all equally subject to the penalties of Recusancy; that statute was the first penal statute made against Popish Recusants, by that name and as distinguished from other Recusants. From that statute arose the distinction between Protestant and Popish Recusants; the former were subject to such statutes of Recusancy as preceded that of the 35th of Elizabeth, and to some statutes against Recusancy made subsequently to that time; but they were relieved from them all by the act of Toleration, stat. I. W. & M. st. I.C. 18. From the stat. 35 Eliz. C. 2, arose also the distinction between Papists or persons professing the Popish religion, in general, and Popish Recusants, and Popish Recusants Convict. Notwithstanding the frequent mention in the statutes, of Papists or persons professing the Popish religion, neither the statutes themselves, nor the cases adjudged upon them, present a clear notion of the acts or circumstances that, in the eye of the law, constituted a Papist, or a person professing the Popish religion. When a person of that description absented himself from church, he came under the legal description of a Popish Recusant, when he was convicted in a Court of Law of absenting himself from church, he was termed a Popish Recusant Convict; to this must be added the constructive Recusancy, incurred by a refusal to take the oath of Supremacy. With respect to the statutes against Recusancy, by these statutes, Popish Recusants Convict were punishable by the censures of the church, and by a fine of £20 for every month during which they absented themselves from church; they were disabled from holding offices or employments; from keeping arms in their houses, from maintaining actions or suits at law, or in equity, from being executors or guardians; from presenting to advowsons; from practising in the law or physic; and from holding offices, civil or military; they were subject to the penalties attending excommunication; were not permitted to travel five miles from home, unless by licence, upon pain of forfeiting all their goods; and might not come to court under pain of £100. No marriage or burial of such Recusant, or baptism of his child, should be had otherwise than by ministers of the Church of England, under severe penalties imposed by Stat. 3 Jac. I., C. 5. A married woman, when convicted of Recusancy, was liable to forfeit two-thirds of her dower or jointure. She could not be executrix or administratrix to her husband, nor have any part of his goods, and during her marriage she might be kept in prison, unless her husband redeemed her at the rate of £10 a month, or the third part of his lands. Popish Recusants Convict were, within three months after conviction, either to submit and renounce their religious opinions, or, if required by four justices, to abjure the realm; and if they did not depart, or if they returned without licence, they were guilty of felony, and were to suffer death as felons.

"3. It must be premised that the Roman Catholics make no objection to take the Oath of Allegiance in Stat. 1 Geo. I., st. 2, C. 13; or the Oath of Abjuration in Stat. 6 Geo. 3, C. 53. With respect to the Oath of Supremacy, by Srat. 1 Eliz. C. 1, the persons therein mentioned were made compellable to take the Oath of Supremacy contained in that act; by Stat. 3 Jac. I., C. 4, another oath was prescribed to be taken, commonly called the Oath of Allegiance and Obedience. These oaths were abrogated by Stat. 1 W. & M., st. 1. C. 8; and a new Oath of Allegiance and a new Oath of Supremacy were introduced, and required to be taken in their stead; the Stat. 1 Geo. I., st. 2, C. 13, contains an Oath of Supremacy, in the same words as the Oath of Supremacy required to be taken by stat. 1 W. & M., st. 1 C. 8; By that oath persons are made to swear, that 'no foreign prince, person, prelate, State, or potentate, hath or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, supremacy, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual within the realm.' It was required to be taken by the persons therein named; it might be tendered to any person, by any two justices of the peace; and persons refusing the Oath so tendered were adjudged to be Popish Recusants Convict, and to forfeit and to be proceeded against as such. This was the constructive Recusancy referred to above. It was not the offence itself of Recusancy, which, as already observed, consisted merely in the party's absenting himself from church ; it was the offence of not taking the Oaths of Supremacy, and the other Oaths prescribed by the Stat. 1 Geo. I., st. 2 C. 13, the refusal of which was, by that statute, placed on the same footing as the legal conviction on the statutes of Recusancy, and subjected the party refusing to the penalties of those statutes. This was the most severe of all the laws against Papists. The punishment of Recusancy was penal in the extreme, and the persons objecting to the oath in question might be subjected to all the penalties of Recusancy, merely by their refusing the oath when tendered to them. It added to the penal nature of these laws that the oath in question might be tendered, at the mere will of two justices of peace, without any previous information or complaint, before a magistrate, or any other person. Thus by refusing to take the Oath of Supremacy, when tendered to them, they became liable to all the penalties of recusancy, and the same refusal, by Stats. 7 E. 8 W, 3 C. 4 ; 1 Geo. I., st. 2 C. 13, restrained them from practising the law as advocates, barristers, solicitors, attornies, notaries, or proctors, and from voting at elections. With respect to the declaration against popery, the stat. 30 Car. 2, st. 2 C. 1, contains the declaration, and prescribes it to be made by members of either House of Parliament before they take their seats. By it they declare their disbelief of the doctrine of transubstantiation, and their belief that the invocation of saints, and the sacrifice of the mass are idolatrous.

"4. How the landed property of Papists was affected by the laws against Recusancy has been already mentioned. By stat. II. E. 12, W. 3, C. 4, it was enacted that a person educated in the Popish religion, or professing the same, who did not in six months, after the age of sixteen, take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and suscribe the declaration prescribed by Stat. 30 C. 2, st. 2 C. 1, should, in respect of himself only, and not of his heirs or posterity, be disabled to inherit or take lands by descent, devise, or limitation, in possession, reversion or remainder; and that, during his life, till he took the oaths and subscribed the declaration against Popery, his next of kin who was a Protestant, should enjoy the lands, without accounting for the profits, and should be incapable of purchasing ; and that all estates, terms, interests, or profits out of lands, made, done, or suffered to his use, or in trust for him, should be void.

"By Stat. 3 Jac. I., C. 5; 1 W. & M., 12 Ann; st. 2 C. 14; 11 G. 2, C. 17, Papists, or persons professing the Popish religion, were disabled from presenting to advowsons, and other ecclesiastical benefices, and to hospitals and other charitable establishments. By annual acts of the legislature, Papists being of the age of eighteen years, and not having taken the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, were subjected to the burthen of the double land tax. By stat. 1 Geo. I., st. 2 C. 55, they were required to register their names and estates in the manner, and under the penalties therein mentioned; and by stat. 3 Geo. I., C. 18, continued by several subsequent statutes, an obligation of inrolling their deeds and wills was imposed on them. Such were the principal penal laws against Roman Catholics, at the time of the accession of the House of Brunswick.

"The only act of any importance which till the reign of his present Majesty* was passed for their relief (and that operated but in an indirect manner for their benefit), was stat. 3 Geo. I., C. 18. On the construction of Stat. 11, E. 12, W. 3, C. 4, it had been held, that as it expressly confined the disability of Papists to take by descent to themselves only, and preserved their heirs and posterity from its operation, it was not to be construed as preventing the vesting of the freehold and inheritance in them, in cases of descent, or transmitting them to their posterity; but that the disability respected only the permanency of the profits, or beneficial property of the lands, of which it deprived them, during their non-conformity. Whether that part of the statute which relates to their taking by purchase should receive the same construction was a frequent subject of discussion, the statute being in that branch of it, without any limitation. To remedy this, the said stat. 3 Geo. I., C. 18, was passed. It enacts, that no sale for a full and valuable consideration, by the owner or reputed owner of any lands, or of any interest therein theretofore made, or thereafter to be made, to a Protestant purchaser, shall be impeached, by reason of any disability of such Papist, or of any person under whom he claims, in consequence of stat. II E. 12, W. 3, C. 4, unless the person taking advantage of such disability shall have recovered before the sale, or given notice of his claim to the purchaser; or before the contract for sale, shall have entered his claim at the quarter sessions and *bona fide* pursued his remedy. The statute then recites the clauses of stat. II, E. 12, W. 3, C. 4, disabling Papists from purchasing; and afterwards enacts, that these clauses shall not be thereby altered or repealed, but shall remain in full force. This proviso is couched in such general words, that it created a doubt in some, whether it did not nearly frustrate the whole effect of the act. To this it was answered, that notwithstanding the proviso, the enacting part of the statute was in full force, for the benefit of a Protestant purchaser; and that, the proviso operated only to declare that Papists themselves should not derive any benefit from the act, in any purchases they should attempt to make, under the foregoing clauses. This was considered the better opinion, and on the authority of it, many purchases of considerable consequence were made."—("The Law-Dictionary," Jacob, Vol. II.)

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* George III.

LOSELEY MANUSCRIPTS PUBLISHED IN THIS VOLUME

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1 Memorandum of Sand-stone taken from Guildford Castle and sold to Sir William More for the building of Loseley. (Bundle 1,575) p. 24.

2 Elizabeth Wolley to her father Sir William More.—Speaks of her life in the capacity of Lady in waiting to Queen Elizabeth. (Vol. IX., n. 115) p. 30.

3 Thomas Edwards to Lady Elizabeth Wolley.—Queen Elizabeth's anxiety for the health of Sir William More. (Vol. IX., n. 116) p. 31.

4 Elizabeth Wolley to her father, Sir William More.—Account of hawking with Queen Elizabeth and Sir Robert Cecill. Meanness of Cecill (Vol. IX., n. 122) p. 33.

5 Note on the following letters of King James I. to Sir George More, Lieutenant of the Tower of London. (Vol. IV., n.33) p. 45.

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19 Bonds made by Edward Banister, Henry Goring and George Goring for large sums on account of their Religion. (Vol. V.) p. 121.

20 Michael De Bay to the Rector of Louvain University.—Religious troubles in the Lowlands. (Bundle 1,566—translation, the original latin letter is in the Appendix) p. 124 and p. 444 (latin original).

21 Thomas Copley to Sir William More.—Declines invitation to stay the night; asserts the right of liberty of conscience. (Bundle of Letters, 1,580) pp. 128 and 129.

22 Thomas Copley to Sir Henry Weston and the Justices of the Peace in Surrey.—Reasons for refusing to subscribe to the Oath. (Vol. IX., n. 20) p. 129.

23 Thomas Copley to Sir Henry Weston and the Justices of the Peace in Surrey.—Defends the Catholic position. (Vol IX., n. 19) pp. 130 and 131.

24 Council to Sir William More.—Earl of Southampton to be removed from the custody of Mr. Alderman Becher to that of Sir William More. (Vol. IV., n. 3) p. 136.

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134 List of prisoners for religion committed to the custody of Anthony Thorpe, keeper of the White Lion, dated 23rd July, 1582. (Vol. V., No. 29) p. 405.

135 List of prisoners in the Clink for religion, dated 23rd July, 1582. (Vol. V., No. 29) p. 406.

136 List of Recusants—a fragment. (*Ibid.*) p. 406.

137 List of names of people in Chertsey, Egham and Thorpe. (Vol. V., No. 50) p. 407.

138 Certificates of Commissioners touching Jesuits, Seminarists. Fugitives and Recusants for the Co. of Surrey, date 1591, (1,085, XV.) p. 407.

139 Royal Commission with Articles annexed, dated 1591. (1,380 Recusancy) p. 412.

140 Draft of letter from Sir William More to the Council.—Members of Commission not suspected of disaffection in Religion, some not resident in the shire and therefore of little use, other names might be added with profit, dated 5th January, 1591. (Vol. V., No. 13) p. 417.

141 John Brodfold, Churchwarden of Godalming Parish Church, to Sir William More, dated 31st January, 1578.—Dispute about the Vicar's house. (Vol. IX., No. 52) p. 418.

142 Latin form of Absolution from heresy.—Indorsed by More " Diabolica absolutio." (Bundle 1,329 (II.) Miscellaneous Papers) p. 423.

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1 Annales de Waverleia, p. 12.

2 Layton to Cromwell: sends the Abbot of Waverley to Cromwell "for liberty to survey his husbandry." (Calendar IX., No. 452.) (Quoted from Henry VIII. and the Eng. Mon., Gasquet) p. 16.

3 Abbot of Waverley to Cromwell: Pleads for the preservation of the Community. (Quoted from Henry VIII. and the Eng. Mon, Gasquet) p. 17.

4 Cardinal Pole to Archbishop Cranmer. (Quoted from Strype's Memorials) pp. 90 and 91.

5 Cardinal Allen to Catholics in England.—His sympathy for them in their sufferings; Catholics not allowed to take part in prayers and services with Protestants; the Pope's decision. (State Papers, Vol. 243, n. 30) pp. 132 to 135.

6 List of Catholics and Priests in England and Wales, dated December 30th, 1577. (Dom. Eliz., Vol. 119, n. 20) p. 150.

7 Number of priests in England in 1598. (Dom. Eliz., Vol. 262, No. 28) p. 157.

8 Spy's information to Sir Francis Walsingham touching Dr. Allen and the passage of Seminary Priests to and from England. (Dom. Eliz., Vol. 178., n. 19) p. 162.

9 Samuel Pettingat, spy.—Information about the English College, Rome and the Seminary Priests.—Hints to the Government how to obtain information. (Dom. Eliz., Vol. 149, n. 84) p. 163 to 169.

10 Horazio Pallavicino to Sir Francis Walsingham.—Troubles in Belgium; attitude of the Pope towards England. (Dom. Eliz., Vol. 147, No. 49) p. 174 and p. 422. (Italian original.)

11 Horazio Pallavicino to Sir Francis Walsingham.—Pallavincino's brother tortured in England. (Dom. Eliz., Vol. 62, n. 88) p. 175.

12 Lord Cobham to Sir Francis Walsingham.—"Horazio Pallavicino's brother is released from prison, but left maimed in his arm from the torture he has received." (Dom. Eliz., Vol. 62., n. 87) p. 176.

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13 Diary of the English College, Rome. (Quoted from the Records of the English Province, S. J., Vol. VI. p. 77) p. 177.

14 Dr. William Allen to the Rector of the English College in Rome. —Gives an account of the work and sufferings of the Seminary Priests in England. (Dom. Eliz., Vol. 149, nn. 51 and 52) p. 178 and p. 433 (latin).

15 Examination of Ralph Miller, prisoner in Bridewell.—Names of Catholic laity and priests, their doings; Mass at Lord Vaux's house. (Dom. Eliz., Vol. 173, n. 64) pp. 185 to 187.

16 The Parable of the Cat, told by a Priest. (Dom. Eliz., Vol. 261, n. 99) p. 190.

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21 Annual Letters, 1608, English College, Rome (quoted from the Records of the Eng. Prov. S. J., Vol. VII., p. 995) p. 237.

22 Pope Gregory XV. to Charles, Prince of Wales.—On the occasion of his proposed marriage with a Spanish princess. (Copied from the Records of the Eng. Prov. S .J. Vol. VI., p. 538) p. 255.

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25 Bishop of Winchester to Cecill.—Edward Kennyon, Priest, too kindly treated in prison. (Dom. Eliz., Vol. 274, n. 34, copied from Jes. Rec., Vol. III., p. 544) p. 339.

26 Bishop of Winchester to Sir Robert Cecill.—Curious History of the inheritance of Winchester gaol.—Escape of Edward Kennyon, priest.—Eight depositions taken by the Bishop. (Dom. Eliz., Vol. 273, No. 23) pp. 340 to 345.

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Printed in England by Headley Brothers, Ashford, Kent, and 18, Devonshire Street, E.C.2.

Date Due

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